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ABSTRACT

In this sixth volume of the Ethnic Heritage Series, the pattern of ethnicity in Nova Scotia (Canada) is examined by deriving indices of diversity for counties and larger towns. The historical development of ethnic patterns from 1767 to 1971 and recent changes in the ethnic pattern are discussed. Ethnic origin data is mapped for 1871 and 1971 and compared with 1971 patterns for mother tongue and birthplace. Locational quotient maps show the distribution of French (grouped in four main pockets), Germans (concentrated in Lunenburg), blacks (in Halifax County), and Native Indians (in Cape Breton Island). It is reported that of recent immigrant groups, British and American born are dispersed, while Europeans and Asians cluster in certain neighborhoods of metropolitan Halifax. Factor analysis is used to regionalize the province's ethnic character. (Author/JCD)

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REGIONAL PATTERNS OF ETHNICITY IN NOVA SCOTIA: A GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY

— Hugh Millward

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Ethnic Heritage Series

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Volume VI

Regional Patterns of Ethnicity in Nova Scotia: A Geographical Study

Hugh A. Millward
1981

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Ethnic Heritage Series

Throughout its history, Nova Scotia has welcomed newcomers from all over the world. From its earliest peoples the Micmac to the most recent the Vietnamese, this province has exhibited a diversity of language, culture and ethnicity. There are over fifty ethnic groups in the province and they have added a richness to Nova Scotia's cultural heritage which is only now being realized and appreciated. At one time or another all Nova Scotians have been refugees, newcomers or immigrants to this part of Canada. It is the intent of this series of publications to reflect upon this common experience and to present the multi-ethnic nature of this province.

The Ethnic Heritage Series will examine many of the ethnic groups of Nova Scotia through the eyes of qualified researchers in diverse disciplines. Their fields of interest may be history, sociology, or folklore but their focus will be a common one — ethnicity in Nova Scotia, its nature and its meaning. The series is published by the International Education Centre at Saint Mary's University and is part of the Centre's program to encourage all Nova Scotians to learn about other cultures in order that we may better understand ourselves.

Professor D. Hugh Gillis of the Political Science Department, Saint Mary's University has edited this volume in the Ethnic Heritage Series. His judgement and experience are most welcome.

James H. Morrison,
General Editor,
Director of the
International
Education Centre

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Abstract

Regional Patterns of Ethnicity in Nova Scotia: A Geographical Study

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The pattern of ethnicity is examined by deriving indices of diversity for counties and larger towns. Ethnic origin data is mapped for 1871 and 1971, and compared with 1971 patterns for mother tongue and birthplace. Locational quotient maps show the distribution of French (grouped in four main pockets), Germans (still concentrated in Lunenburg), Blacks (in Halifax county), and Native Indians (in Cape Breton Island). Of recent immigrant groups, British and American-born are dispersed, while Europeans and Asians cluster in certain neighbourhoods of metropolitan Halifax. Factor analysis is used to regionalize the province's ethnic character.

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Chapter 1

Purposes, Data Base and Methodology

Purposes of the Study

The purposes of this study are twofold: to identify and characterize the spatial pattern of ethnic groups in Nova Scotia at the present time, and to explain that pattern in terms of both (a) the historical evolution of ethnic distributions, and (b) recent immigration trends.

This study aims to analyze broad regional patterns of group mixtures and group clustering, rather than to explain the particulars of any one ethnic distribution. However, certain major ethnic groups will naturally be dealt with on an individual basis, and some minor groups with particularly clustered or segregated distributions, or which differ from the general culture in significant ways, will also be dealt with separately. Throughout, my intent has been to maintain a distinctly *geographical* approach to the characterization and analysis of spatial patterns; that is, emphasis is on the ethnic individuality of various regions within the province, rather than on the unique attributes of the various ethnic groups themselves (these are more the concerns of the sociologist and anthropologist).

The Approach

The study relies almost exclusively on published and unpublished census data, supplemented for the most recent years by published Citizenship Statistics. The census data indicate ethnicity by various means, so that a discussion of the meaning of ethnicity, and the extent to which it is revealed through various census questions, takes up the first section of this report. This discussion provides a rationale for the selection of appropriate census data and for the sequence of analysis. The next section of the report deals with methodology. The aim of this research has been, as far as possible, to present the ethnic picture in a graphic and comparable manner, both through time and between ethnic groups. This requirement dictates that census data should be transformed into maps, and that the maps should have a common quantitative basis to allow comparison. Reasons for selecting a quantitative index of diversity are provided, along with a discussion of its properties.

The actual analysis of ethnic patterns is conducted sequentially, with an historical section (Chapter 2), a comparative "base-date" section dealing with different facets of ethnicity in 1971 (Chapter 3), and a section on more recent data (Chapter 4). Because different ethnic groups had their major period of immigration at different times, it is appropriate that the discussions on individual groups occur in these chapters according to temporal and data considerations (e.g. Scottish, English and Irish patterns of ethnicity are discussed in Chapter 2; Germans, Negroes and Native Indians in Chapter 3; and French, southern Europeans and Asians in Chapter 4). The final chapter takes all information available on ethnicity from the last complete census (1971), and attempts to produce a regionalization of Nova Scotia using the technique of factor analysis. This regionalization is intended to summarize the varying ethnic character of the province's counties and larger towns.

Definitions of Ethnic Groups

The Dictionary of the Social Sciences defines ethnic group as "a social group which, within a larger cultural and social system, claims or is accorded special status in terms of a complex of traits which it exhibits or is believed to exhibit" (Gould and Kolb, 1964). Glazer and Moynihan (1975, 4), however, feel that we now tend to apply the term to any group of distinct cultural tradition and origin, even if it is the majority ethnic group within a nation. To Barth (1970, 10) the term ethnic group designates a population which (i) is largely biologically self-perpetuating (i.e. endogamous), (ii) shares fundamental cultural values, (iii) makes up a field of communication and interaction, and (iv) has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a distinct category. This last point on shared self-perception is echoed by Berreman (1975, 71) and De Vos (1975, 9).

The cultural values and traditions which set a group apart include "folk" religious beliefs and practises, language, a sense of historical continuity, and common ancestry or place of origin (De Vos, 1975, 9). None of these, however, is an essential characteristic of ethnic status. Thus, the perception of racial (genetically-inherited) differences is an important defining characteristic for some groups (e.g. Native Indians and Blacks), nationality or territorial origin is most important for others (e.g. Indians, Palestinians, Jews). Religion is extremely important in the self-perception of some groups (Mormons, Jews, Sikhs) but, by itself, is seldom sufficient to bestow ethnic status (although the Canadian census makes an exception for Jews). Language has been described as "the single most characteristic feature of a separate ethnic

identity" (De Vos, 1975, 15), and often the word for an ethnic group is either identical to or has the same root as the word for the language. But a common tongue is sometimes shared by different ethnic groups (e.g. English shared by the English, Scots, Irish), and very occasionally members of a single ethnic group may speak many languages (e.g. Native American Indians). Lieberson (1970, 5) sums it up: "while ethnic differences are sometimes not accompanied by linguistic differences, it is rare to find two or more mutually unintelligible languages used in a society without the speakers belonging to different ethnic groups".

Census Data on Ethnic Groups in Nova Scotia

Bearing in mind the above definitions of ethnic status, there have been in recent years five census questions relating to ethnicity. These are Ethnic Origin, Mother Tongue, Birthplace, language most often spoken at home, and Citizenship. Each of these is useful in illuminating a different facet of Nova Scotia's ethnic make-up, but foreign Citizenship clearly relates only to *some* immigrants and fewer still of their offspring. Data on foreign birthplace is more useful, but only in identifying immigrants, not Canadian-born members of ethnic groups. Of the two language questions, Mother Tongue identifies more minority (non-English) speakers than does language most often spoken at home, but still fails to identify many who perceive themselves as ethnic despite having never learned their ethnic tongue, or who, like the Irish and Scots, speak the majority language as a matter of course.

The census question on Ethnic Origin is thus the most directly relevant to this study. It has the added advantage (not shared by Mother Tongue) of having been asked in every Canadian decennial census, albeit in varying ways and with varying categories. It has the disadvantage that it was not asked in the most recent census of 1976, so that for a very recent picture we must substitute Mother Tongue data.

The census Origin question has a number of problems attached to it, all of which are fully discussed by Ryder (1955). The 1870 act providing for a census specified *racial* origin, but this was translated in French as *nationalité* and titled in the published table simply "Origins of the People". Birthplace was recognized explicitly as one facet of the origin concept in 1931 but, by 1951, language had come to be regarded as the most important indicator. The actual question asked since 1951 has been "to what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?" Paradoxically, the responses "Canadian" and "American" have been allowed as valid

since 1951, and about one percent report their origin as such. "Swiss" used to be accepted as an origin, but is no longer allowed. Anyone who marks himself of the Jewish religion is edited as of Jewish ethnic origin even if he has not marked himself so (1971 Census: Bulletin 1.2-1). Negro has always constituted a valid response to the origin question, but does not appear as a self-marking position in the 1971 census. This is a particularly problematical response as it refers solely to colour rather than culture or language, and also many individuals perceived as "black" may not have black ancestors on the paternal side. The reliability of this response is therefore poor, and 'origin' statistics greatly underestimate the true black population.

Origin data for 1971 are published at the provincial tract (census subdivision) level for thirteen ethnic groups, but tables specifying particular groups are not published for Mother Tongue and Birthplace at this spatial level. Also, data on origins prior to 1971 are consistently available only at the county (division) and large town level, so that the historical and comparative analyses in chapters 2 and 3 must necessarily deal with ethnic patterns at this fairly coarse scale*. For the analysis of 1976 Mother Tongue data in chapter 4, it is possible to use provincial tract data for French (the major linguistic and ethnic minority in the province), thus providing a more detailed picture. Urban immigrant clusters in Halifax and Dartmouth are identified by mapping 1976 Mother Tongue data for selected groups at the enumeration area level, through the use of unpublished statistics.

The Indices of Diversity

As a means of summarizing the ethnic pattern, it would be useful to have a statistic which measured the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the ethnic mix on a county basis. That is, we would like to portray ethnic origin data by a single figure per county, so that counties could be compared one with another at a given date, or the recent figure for a given county could be compared with the figure for 100 years earlier. If the same type of statistic can be produced using mother tongue and birthplace data, so that all three variables can be compared in the same way, so much the better.

Several statistics are available which measure diversity (or, conversely, concentration or specialization). The Lorenz curve and the associated Gini index can be adapted to serve the purpose (see Duncan

*It should be clearly recognized that great variations in ethnic make-up exist *within* counties. Most small communities are extremely homogenous ethnically, even though counties taken as a whole may not be.

and Duncan, 1955), and the method is carefully laid out in Liang (1974, 85-95). It is, however, a very cumbersome and lengthy procedure. Marshall (1975) uses an index of specialization which is easily derived but difficult to interpret, having no upper limit. Ray (1976, 258) introduces an "index of ethnic diversity" used to rate Canadian cities from zero (all population in one ethnic group) to a maximum which varies depending on the number of ethnic groups being considered (in Ray's case, where 12 groups are considered, the maximum is 0.913 when $^1/_{12}$ of the population is in each group). The Index = $1 - \Sigma P_i^2$, where P_i = the proportion of the area's population in the i th ethnic group. In the present work, I have modified Ray's formula to produce values ranging from zero to 100, irrespective of the number of groups into which the total population is split:

$$\text{Index of Ethnic Diversity (ED)} = \frac{1 - \sum_{i=1}^{n} P_i^2}{1 - n\left(\frac{1}{n}\right)^2} \cdot 100$$

where: n = the number of ethnic groups considered,

$1 - n\left(\frac{1}{n}\right)^2 = MAX$ = the maximum value of $1 - \Sigma P_i^2$ for a given value of n.

Indices of Mother Tongue Diversity (MTD) and Birthplace Diversity (BD) can be constructed by analogous formulae, both again ranging from zero for complete homogeneity to 100 for maximum heterogeneity.

Choice of Ethnic Groups for Indices

An initial decision was made to divide the population into ten major groupings for each of Ethnic Origin, Mother tongue and Birthplace (this number being a compromise allowing reasonable detail without unnecessary computation). Four criteria were developed for identifying these ten groups:

(i) the group is present in published census tables for both 1871 and 1971 (and preferably all dates in between).

(ii) the group is present in the 1971 census for each of Ethnic Origin, Birthplace and Mother tongue.

(iii) the group has a distinct cultural identity and constitutes either a single ethnic group according to Barth's definition (quoted earlier) or a closely related set of ethnic groups.

(iv) the group is sufficiently large to be present in most Nova Scotia census divisions.

It soon became evident, however, that it is impossible to identify ten groups fulfilling these criteria. For example, the "British Isles" origin group (necessary since Scots, Irish, etc. are not listed separately in 1971) do not all have English as their mother tongue, while many who do have this mother tongue might be West Indian, Negro or even French in terms of ethnic origin. Similarly, an American immigrant might be listed under U.S.A. for Birthplace, English for Mother tongue and German for Ethnic origin. An attempt to produce comparable groupings for the three variables would therefore lose the "three-dimensional" picture of ethnicity provided by the very fact that they record different things. It is for this reason, for example, that Jew and Negro are selected as Origin groups but not for Language or Birthplace (Hebrew being of very minor importance). As another example, Southern Europe is selected as a Birthplace region, but only Greek and Italian are selected for Mother tongue (Spanish being of minor importance and Portugese not listed), and only Italian for Ethnic origin (Greek not being listed in 1971).

The final groupings used are as follows:

Ethnic Origin	**Mother Tongue**	**Birthplace**
British Isles	English	Canada
French	French	U.S.A.
Scandinavian	Gaelic & Welsh	British Isles
German & Dutch	German & Dutch	Scandinavia
Russian, Ukrainian & Polish	Slavic (& Magyar)	Western Europe
Italian	Italian	Southern Europe
Negro (African in 1871)	Greek	Eastern Europe
Jewish	Native	Asia
Native Indian	Chinese & Japanese	W. Indies & Latin America
All Others	Other & Not Stated	All Other

Lest the reader feel inclined to quibble with the details of these lists, it should be pointed out that the indices of diversity are largely determined by the size of the *largest* group (that is, generally, the British Isles Origin group, the English Mother tongue group, and the Canada Birthplace group). The size or even presence of groups with proportions less than one percent hardly affects the index score. The Jewish Origin group therefore only has a significant (though still small) impact on the scores for Halifax city and Sydney, while Gaelic

and Welsh only slightly alter the language diversity scores for Inverness and Victoria.

It is unfortunate that a breakdown of the British Isles group by origin is not possible in 1971, since the ethnicity of Scots, Irish and English is clearly of consequence for community history and the ethnic character of the various regions. In an attempt to alleviate this problem, the first two sections of chapter 2 deal specifically with the components of the British group up to 1871, by which time the pattern of Scots, Irish and the catch-all "English" category (English and Americans) had jelled to a considerable extent.

Chapter 2

Historical Development of Ethnic Patterns, 1767-1971

The Ethnic Pattern in 1767

The best source of Origin data prior to 1871 is the 1767 Nova Scotia census. This shows the distribution of six main origin groups by county, at a time when the total provincial population was under 12,000 (see Table 1). The Acadian population was low since most had been deported between 1755 and 1757, while the Scots were poorly represented since their period of migrations did not begin until 1773. The English were mainly the remnants of the "rabble" (Cornwallis' word) who had landed to found Halifax in 1749, whilst the Germans were the remnants of 2,400 Protestants lured from the Palatine, Switzerland and Montbeliard during 1750-52 (Bohlmann, 1978). The Irish at this time were mostly in Protestant group settlements, except for Halifax where they were composed mainly of indentured servants, soldiers and mariners (Press, 1978). By far the largest group were the Americans, mostly New Englanders. Those in Halifax were merchants and entrepreneurs replacing the original English, while those in the Annapolis Valley and the South Shore were the early contingent of a large influx of 17-18,000 by 1775 (Clark, 1960). Even as early as 1767 a clear regional differentiation existed: western Hants, Kings, Annapolis, Shelburne and Queen (sic) counties were solidly New Englander; Colchester, Cumberland and eastern Hants predominantly Irish; Lunenburg overwhelmingly German. Only Halifax, Cape Breton and Pictou had heterogenous populations. For their numbers, the English were scattered most uniformly throughout the province, whilst the Germans and Acadians showed the most clustered or segregated distributions.

Components of the British Population in 1871

Of the 387,000 people in Nova Scotia in 1871, 79.5% claimed British paternal origin, 9.0% German or Dutch ("Dutch" often being a confusion of Deutsch), and 8.5% French (i.e., Acadian). The only other groups of significance were Negroes (1.6%) and Natives (0.4%). The British group was broken down as follows: 32.5% Scottish, 29.5% English, 17.8% Irish, and 0.3% Welsh. Obviously, *the Scots* had greatly

increased their numbers relative to the English, beginning in 1773 with the landing of the "Hector" at Pictou, and continuing through four distinct phases to the early 1850s (MacLean, 1978). Prior to 1802 there was no direct emigration of Scots to Cape Breton, most settling first in Pictou county and then filtering westward to Antigonish (then Sydney Upper District) and Cape Breton. Most Scottish settlement in Cape Breton took place after 1817, particularly in the period 1821-1830 (Campbell and MacLean, 1974), but, of the counties, Pictou retained the largest Scottish population in 1871. The Scots constituted a plurality of the population throughout all of Pictou and Cape Breton counties, in Antigonish and the rest of Cape Breton Island save for a few small French pockets, in northern Colchester and in the interior of Guysborough county. There were pockets of Scots plurality also around Wallace (Cumberland), in the Musquodoboit valley (Halifax), and in southeast Hants (Clark, 1960, 320). The Scots in Cape Breton and Antigonish were almost all Highlanders, many retaining their Gaelic language and customs.

Most of those claiming *English* origin in 1871 were descendants of the New England settlers or the American Loyalists (though some of both these groups naturally claimed Scottish or Irish origin). The Loyalists had removed to Nova Scotia *en masse* in 1783, half of them landing originally in Shelburne, though others settled in Halifax town and along the eastern shore (MacKinnon, 1978). Some people claiming

Table 1. Nova Scotia Census of 1767

County	Total Population	English	Irish	Scotch	American	German	Acadian
Hants	814	24	97	17	490	34	152
Kings	1,361	15	4	8	1,814	16	4
Annapolis	936	50	48	14	739	18	67
Shelburne	755	25	6	3	716	5	—
Queen	634	9	13	7	594	6	2
Lunenburg	1,901	102	53	24	271	1,451	—
Halifax	3,695	449	979	60	1,437	273	397
Cumberland	123	3	85	2	29	—	4
Colchester	694	8	531	8	147	—	—
Pictou	159	2	12	—	62	59	24
Cape Breton	707	70	169	6	170	21	271
Total	11,779	757	2,000	149	5,969	1,883	921

Notes: (1) For Halifax, Origins are "not given" for 100 people.
(2) There were a total of 101 Negroes in the province, 58 of them in Halifax County.
Census data from *Censuses of Canada 1665 to 1871* (Ottawa: 1876).

English origin had also settled directly from England, particularly the Yorkshiremen of Cumberland county (Clark, 1960, 323). The disparate English group formed a plurality of the population throughout Shelburne county, in almost all of Cumberland, Kings, Annapolis and Queens, and in much of Yarmouth, western Hants and the Digby area.

The *Irish* in 1767 had been an urban group, concentrated in Halifax town, and they remained so in 1871. In the late 18th century several fishing ports south of the town were founded, but otherwise later immigrants had gravitated to the established Irish colonies — Halifax and Sydney for the Celtic Catholics, small towns in Colchester and Cumberland for the Protestant Scotch-Irish (Press, 1978). By 1871, the Ulster Irish had a plurality in a solid block of country comprising most of Colchester, and adjoining parts of Hants and Halifax counties. Celtic Irish were easily the largest ethnic group in Halifax town.

Changes in Ethnic Diversity, 1871-1971

Figure 1 maps indices of ethnic diversity for 1871 by county and larger town. The indices were computed according to the formula outlined in chapter 1. Recall that an index value of zero indicates that all the population is in one ethnic group, while the maximum value of 100 indicates a population composed of equal numbers from ten origin groups. Exact figures for both 1871 and 1971 are provided in Table 2.

In 1871 Nova Scotia as a whole scored 39.1 compared with 59.2 for all of Canada. Digby county was most diverse, scoring 64.8 due to a large French minority and significant German/Dutch and Negro minorities. Other counties with sizeable French populations also scored highly, notably Richmond, Yarmouth and Antigonish. As Table 2 shows, the German/Dutch group were an important minority in Annapolis, Guysborough, Halifax county, Queens and Shelburne, raising diversity indices for these areas. They constituted 69.8% of the population in Lunenburg county, the only census unit at this date where the British were in a minority. The most homogenous counties in 1871 were Cape Breton, Victoria and Pictou (all strongly Scottish), and Kings (almost entirely of New England origin).

Nova Scotia in 1871 was still far from a "melting pot", and indices of diversity on Figure 1 would, in fact, be much lower if smaller spatial units had been used. Digby county, for instance, was divided into distinct ethnic areas, with the French along the Clare shore, so that the diversity index does not reflect a real mixing of ethnic groups. Similarly for Richmond, Yarmouth, Antigonish and even Guysborough. Perhaps the most truly mixed areas were the main towns, particularly Halifax.

Figure 1

ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1870–71. By Counties & Larger Towns.

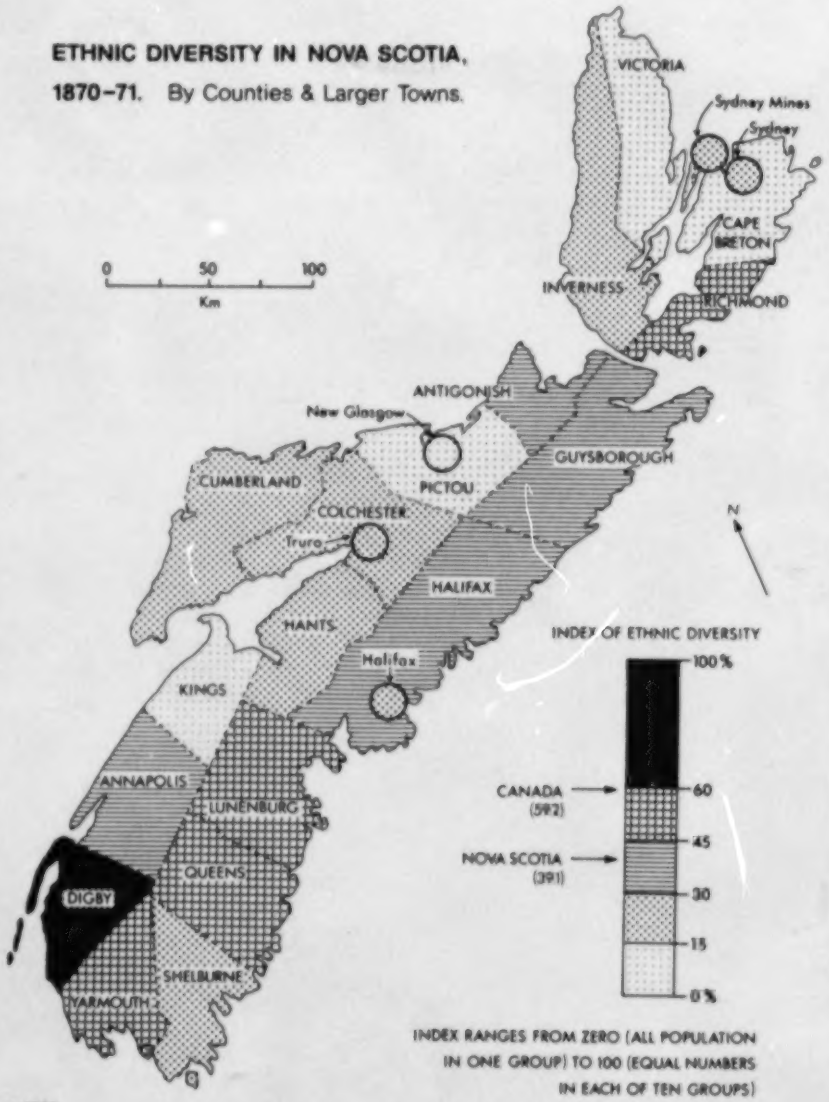


Table 2. Indices of Ethnic Diversity, 1871 and 1971

County or Town	Percent Population in* Second Ethnic Group 1871	1971	1871 Index	1971 Index	Index Change
1. Annapolis	10.4(G)	9.3(G)	31.9	31.4	-0.5
2. Antigonish	16.5	17.6	33.9	46.4	+12.5
3. Cape Breton (minus 21, 25)	4.3	8.8	14.2	34.5	+20.3
4. Colchester (minus 26)	1.7(G)	4.0(G)	15.8	18.6	+2.8
5. Cumberland	4.0(G)	8.5	19.8	29.5	+9.7
6. Digby	37.9	44.6	64.8	61.9	-2.9
7. Guysborough	8.4(G)	7.5(G)	41.7	35.2	-6.5
8. Halifax**	12.0(G)	10.9(G)	42.8	49.9	*
9. Inverness	11.5	21.2	24.2	46.2	+22.0
10. Kings	3.3(G)	9.3(G)	14.2	34.1	+19.9
11. Lunenburg	22.5(B)	53.1(B)	50.8	62.5	+11.7
12. Pictou (minus 24)	0.6	6.4	8.2	25.6	+17.4
13. Queens	21.3(G)	18.5(G)	48.1	45.4	-2.7
14. Richmond	48.8	43.3(B)	57.2	60.0	+2.8
15. Shelburne	8.8(G)	5.7(G)	27.7	24.0	-3.7
16. Victoria	0.7	3.2	3.5	18.9	+15.4
17. Yarmouth	26.2	40.1	46.2	59.2	+13.0
18. East Hants	5.3(G)	9.0(G)	18.1	30.5	+12.3
19. West Hants**		7.4(G)		30.4	
20. Dartmouth	*	8.3	*	41.2	*
21. Glace Bay	*	4.9	*	25.6	*
22. Halifax city	5.1(G)	8.9	22.9	43.4	+20.5
23. Metro Fringe	*	7.7(G)	*	46.3	*
24. New Glasgow	1.9(NA)	6.9	5.7	30.1	+24.4
25. Sydney	3.7	8.0	15.9	37.8	+21.9
26. Truro	2.8(N)	3.7(G)	15.7	22.2	+6.5
Nova Scotia	9.0(G)	10.2	39.1	42.6	+3.5
Canada	31.1	28.7	59.2	78.3	+19.1

* Not applicable, or not present in data for both dates.

** Figure for 1871 is for Halifax county minus Halifax city. Figure for 1971 is for county minus Halifax and Dartmouth cities and metro fringe.

• All figures are French, except G (German and Dutch), B (British), N (Negro) and NA (Native).

•• Includes Windsor and Hantsport.

A comparison of figures 1 and 2 suggests a considerable degree of mixing, and therefore increased diversity indices, between 1871 and 1971. Lunenburg and Richmond join Digby in the highest scoring group (Lunenburg due to a decline in the dominance of the German-/Dutch, probably through prudent wartime changes of name rather than inter-county mobility — see Clark, 1960, 334). Areas with large French minorities tended to increase in diversity owing to lower out-migration and a higher birth-rate among the French, boosting them to second place among the ethnic groups by 1901. This higher birth-rate was also the main reason for the slight increase in the province's diversity index (since no significant influx of immigrants occurred).

Inter-county mobility of the population was, however, the prime cause of increasing diversity of origins. In Kings, for example, the percentage of British origin fell from 93.3 to 82.6 over the century, while German/Dutch increased from 3.3 to 9.3, and French from 1.3 to 4.6, thus bringing the county much closer to the provincial norm. Halifax and Dartmouth cities in particular were subject to this "mixing" through mobility from 1871 to 1971. As Table 2 shows, the major minority group in Halifax city changed from German to French, as in the province as a whole, and the proportion of French origin in 1971 was nearly at the provincial figure. The percentage of British origin in the city fell from 88.9 to 77.2, again reflecting a provincial trend.

The "mixing" due to mobility, however, while it increases scores for the index of ethnic diversity, does not reflect an increasing degree of ethnic pluralism in the years 1871 to 1971. Rather, it reflects a "melting pot" or assimilation mechanism in which those who move tend to adopt the language and culture of the dominant British group. For example, the descendants of the French moving to Halifax from Digby seldom maintained French as mother tongue, so that while in 1971 8.9 percent in the city are of French origin, only 3.5 percent have French as mother tongue. During the last century, the major inter-county population movements were to the urban centres of metro Halifax, industrial Cape Breton and industrial Pictou, and it is therefore in these areas that the assimilation process was most marked.

Turning now to the smaller ethnic groups, Figure 3 is an attempt to represent their increases and decreases in the 1871-1971 period relative both to each other and to the three larger groups. Since the graph employs a logarithmic vertical axis, the slopes of the lines are comparable. For example, doubling a group's percentage figure produces the same angle of upward slope no matter how large the initial percentage might be. The fastest growing groups therefore has the steepest slope, a group which exactly maintains its provincial representation is ob-

Figure 2

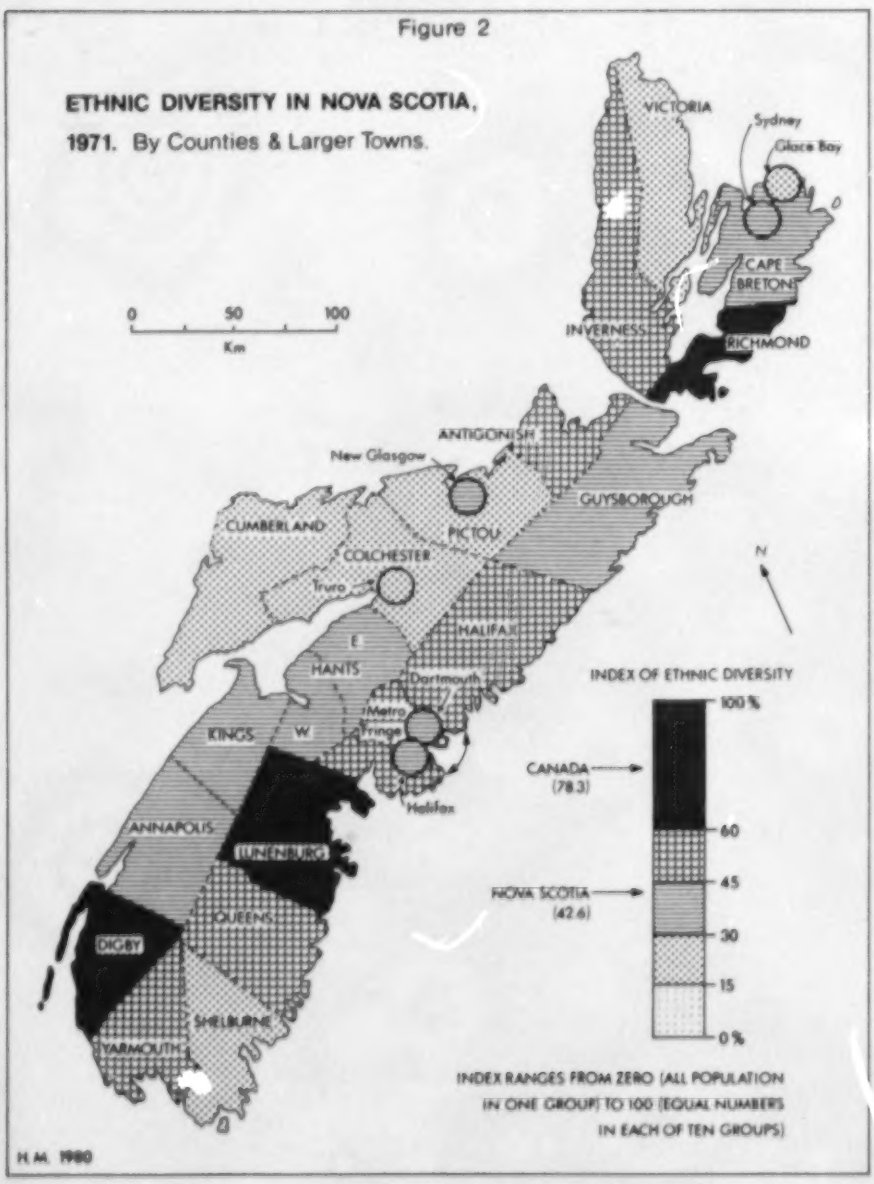
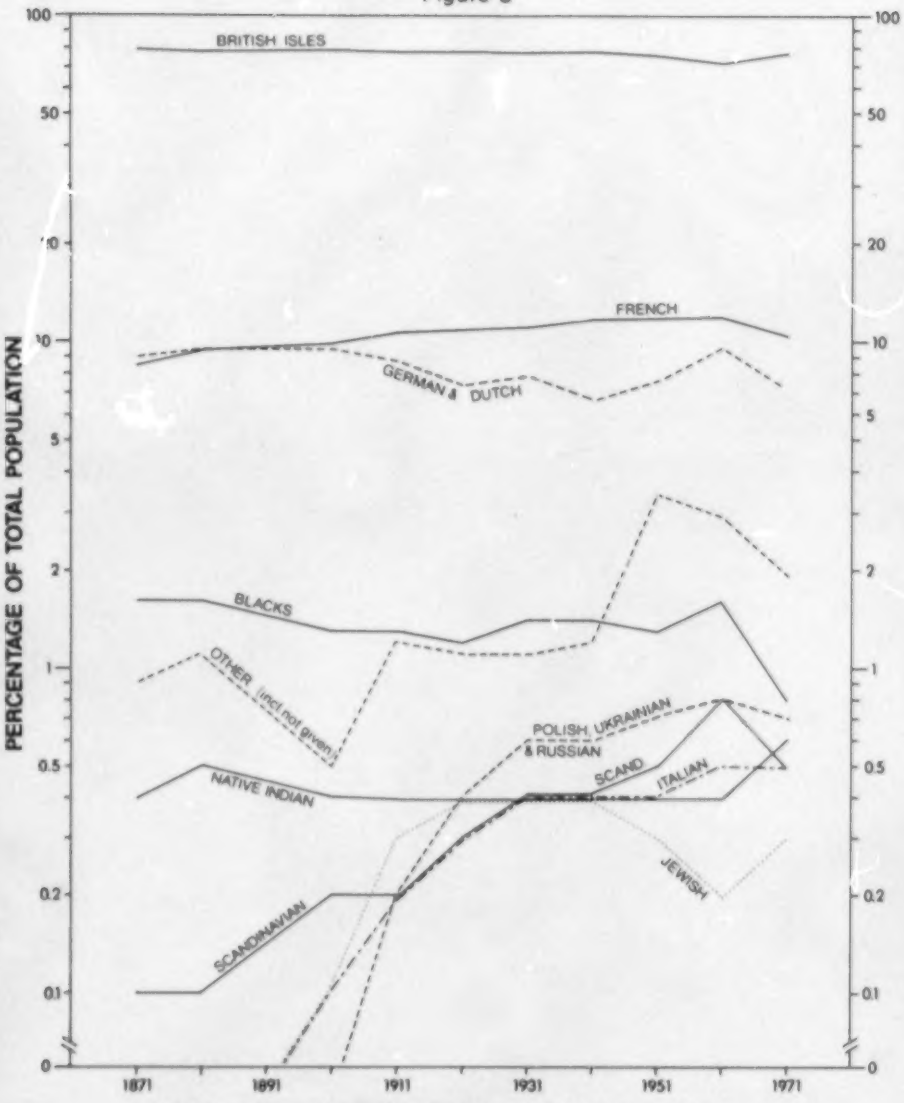

ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN NOVA SCOTIA,
1971. By Counties & Larger Towns.
0
50
100
Km
VICTORIA
Sydney
Glace Bay
CAPE BRETON
INVERNESS
RICHMOND
ANTIGONISH
New Glasgow
GUYSBOROUGH
CUMBERLAND
PICTOU
COLCHESTER
Truro
N
E
HANTS
HALIFAX
Dartmouth
Metro Fringe
KINGS
W
Halifax
ANNAPOLIS
LUNENBURG
QUEENS
DIGBY
SHELBURNE
YARMOUTH
INDEX OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY
100 %
CANADA (78.3)
60
45
NOVA SCOTIA (42.6)
30
15
0 %
INDEX RANGES FROM ZERO (ALL POPULATION IN ONE GROUP) TO 100 (EQUAL NUMBERS IN EACH OF TEN GROUPS)
H.M. 1980

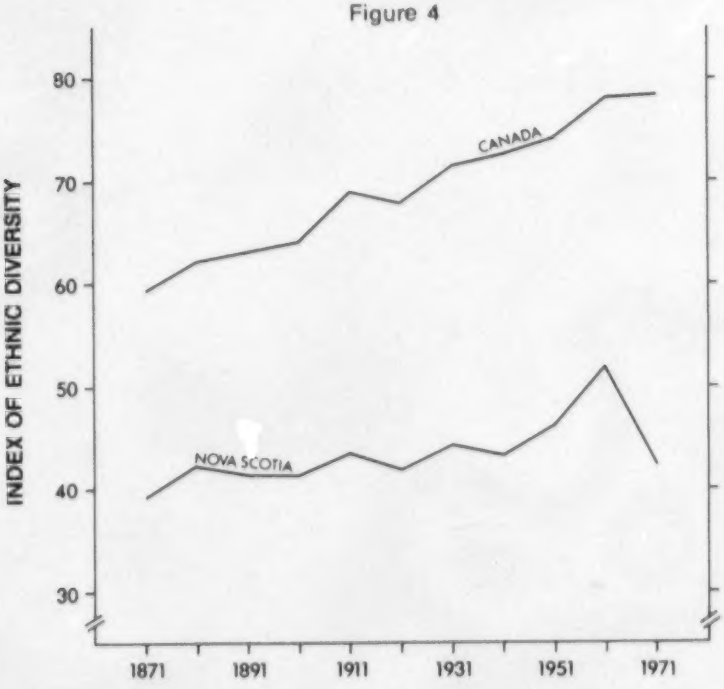
Figure 3



PERCENTAGE OF NOVA SCOTIA POPULATION IN TEN ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPINGS, 1871–1971. (log scale)

viously represented by a horizontal line, and one in relative decline has a downward slope. Over the hundred years, blacks appear to have declined most in relative terms; this, however, is largely the result of an under-estimation in 1971. The German/Dutch group also declined, noticeably in 1921 and 1941 as a result of wartime prudence. Except for 1971, the French consistently made gains, while the British group declined slightly. In relative terms, the smaller European immigrant groups gained rapidly from the turn of the century onwards. The only significant decline here has been for the Jewish group. The "other"

Figure 4



INDICES OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY FOR CANADA AND NOVA SCOTIA, 1871 – 1971

Index may range from 0 (all population in one ethnic group) to 100 (equal proportions in each of ten ethnic groupings)

category is composed of "not given" (a variable but sizeable category), plus Swiss and Spanish, later Syrian/Lebanese, and most recently South and East Asians.

From 1871 to 1971 Nova Scotia definitely increased in the diversity of its ethnic origins, although it remained well below the diversity of Canada as a whole (Figure 4). The marked decline in diversity from 1961 to 1971 is difficult to explain, though it clearly reflects an increase in the British origin group at the expense of nearly all others (but particularly the German/Dutch and Blacks). It may be due to a propensity to anglicize German/Dutch names, coupled with a tendency on the part of blacks to mark by surname rather than by skin colour.

Chapter 3

Comparative Analysis of 1971 Patterns

Diversity of Birthplace, 1971

As mentioned in chapter one, the most recent census in which we may compare the patterns of Ethnic origin, Birhplace and Mother tongue is 1971. The 1971 pattern of Ethnic origin has already been presented (Fig. 2 and Table 2), and it remains to compare it with the other two variables. Scores for the birthplace diversity index are listed in Table 3 and mapped in Figure 5, and it is immediately obvious that Nova Scotia is ethnically very homogenous in this respect. Only 4.7% of the population were born outside Canada (compared to 15.3% of the Canadian population). Of these, 1.8% were from the British Isles, 1.1% American, 0.7% from Western Europe, and 0.3% from Asia. People born in the five other regions used constituted only 0.7%. The urban areas of Halifax-Dartmouth had by far the largest immigrant population (9.1% and 8.1% of the total respectively), but a gravitation to other urban centres is noticeable; Sydney, Glace Bay, New Glasgow and Truro all had higher index scores than their surrounding counties, as did the metro fringe. The relatively high score for Antigonish was due largely to 2.0% American-born (many associated with St. Francis Xavier University), while both Kings and Annapolis had high proportions of British and American-born, plus considerable numbers from Western Europe (1.9% in Kings, many of them Dutch). Thus, the better farming areas of the province appear to have attracted larger proportions of foreign-born than the fishing-oriented eastern shore. In general, the British are the major immigrant group around the Fundy shore and in metropolitan Halifax, while the Americans are concentrated more on the south and west shores, with pockets in Antigonish and Inverness.

Diversity of Mother Tongue, 1971

Mother tongue diversity (Figure 6 and Table 3) is almost entirely determined by the percentage of French speakers, since in 1971 93.0% spoke English, 5.0% spoke French, and only 2.0% had any other mother tongue (the most important minor languages were German/Dutch with 0.5% and Native Indian with 0.3%). The pattern of French Mother tongue will be dealt with in detail in the next chapter, but figure 6 is presented here for comparison with the patterns of Ethnic origin (Fig.

Table 3. Indices of Diversity, 1971 and 1976

County or Town	Ethnic Diversity 1971	Birthplace Diversity 1971	Mother Tongue Diversity 1971	Mother Tongue Diversity 1976
1. Annapolis	31.4	11.2	4.4	5.7
2. Antigonish	46.4	10.6	21.6	20.3
3. Cape Breton (minus 21, 25)	34.5	6.3	11.4	11.2
4. Colchester (minus 26)	18.6	7.4	4.2	5.0
5. Cumberland	29.5	8.2	7.6	7.0
6. Digby	61.9	8.2	53.2	52.9
7. Guysborough	35.2	6.1	8.6	8.0
8. Halifax (minus 20, 22, 23)	49.9	4.6	6.7	4.0
9. Inverness	46.2	7.2	41.3	38.7
10. Kings	34.1	11.6	5.7	7.6
11. Lunenburg	62.5	6.8	3.3	4.6
12. Pictou (minus 24)	25.6	8.0	6.5	7.0
13. Queens	45.4	8.0	3.5	3.3
14. Richmond	60.0	5.0	56.5	56.0
15. Shelburne	24.0	8.6	3.1	3.3
16. Victoria	18.9	4.8	11.2	13.4
17. Yarmouth	59.2	8.0	49.0	47.7
18. East Hants	30.5	7.0	5.1	4.2
19. West Hants*	30.4	7.2	5.1	3.5
20. Dartmouth	41.2	15.0	9.9	12.6
21. Glace Bay	25.6	7.4	5.0	7.2
22. Halifax City	43.4	17.1	14.6	18.2
23. Metro Fringe	46.3	10.1	7.2	9.5
24. New Glasgow	30.1	10.8	7.4	9.1
25. Sydney	37.8	9.5	11.6	13.0
26. Truro	22.2	10.1	4.6	7.6
Nova Scotia	42.6	10.1	14.5	15.4
Canada	78.3	30.9	62.4	61.5

* Includes Windsor and Hantsport.

Figure 5

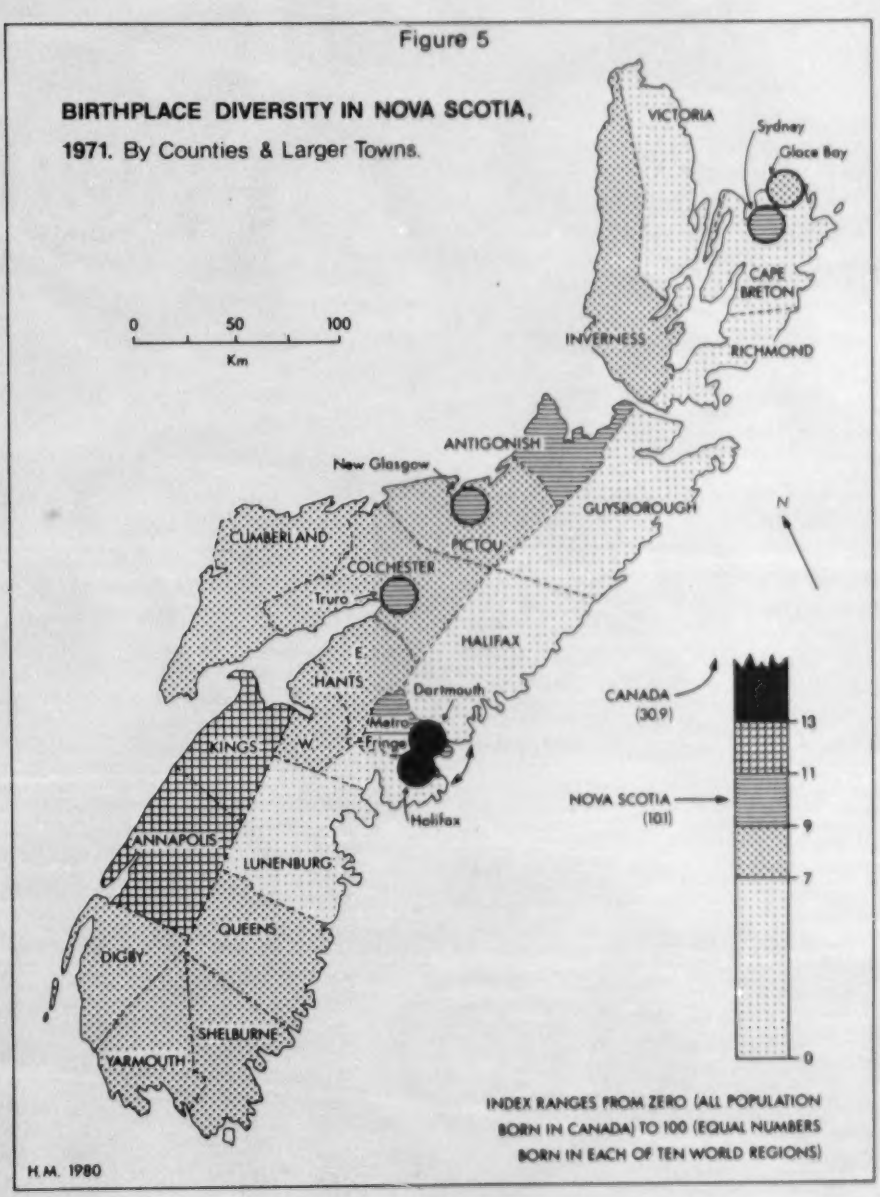
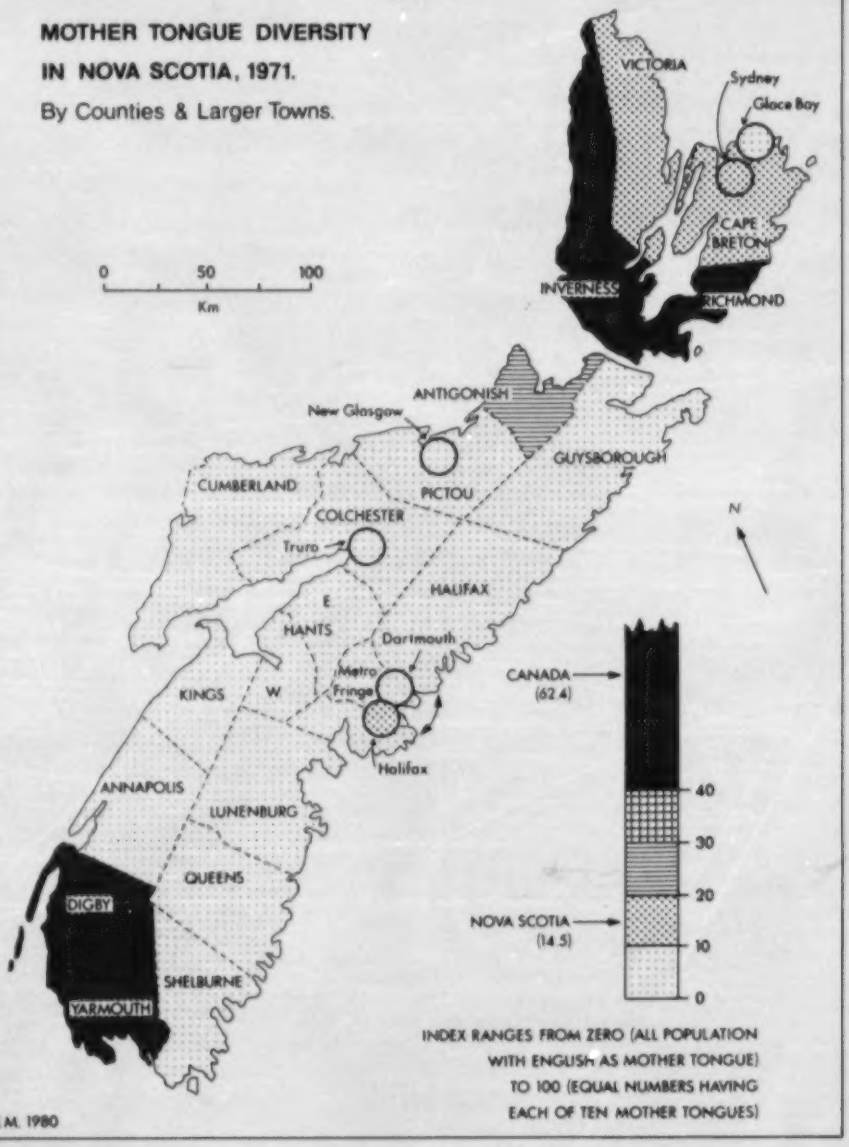

BIRTHPLACE DIVERSITY IN NOVA SCOTIA,
1971. By Counties & Larger Towns.
0
50
100
Km
VICTORIA
Sydney
Glace Bay
CAPE BRETON
INVERNESS
RICHMOND
ANTIGONISH
New Glasgow
GUYSBOROUGH
N
CUMBERLAND
PICTOU
COLCHESTER
Truro
HALIFAX
E
HANTS
Dartmouth
Metro
Fringe
W
KINGS
Halifax
ANNAPOLIS
LUNENBURG
QUEENS
DIGBY
SHELBURNE
YARMOUTH
CANADA
(30.9)
NOVA SCOTIA
(10.1)
13
11
9
7
0
INDEX RANGES FROM ZERO (ALL POPULATION BORN IN CANADA) TO 100 (EQUAL NUMBERS BORN IN EACH OF TEN WORLD REGIONS)
H.M. 1980

Figure 6

MOTHER TONGUE DIVERSITY
IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1971.
By Counties & Larger Towns.



2) and Birthplace (Fig. 5). Quite clearly, the three variables measure very different aspects of ethnicity, and to rely on any one exclusively would give one a distorted view of Nova Scotia's ethnic pattern. For example, while it *appears* in fig. 2 that Lunenburg has great ethnic diversity, fewer people there had German or Dutch as mother tongues than in Kings or Colchester; also, it had relatively few immigrants overall, and only 0.6% immigrants from Western Europe compared to 1.4% in Antigonish and 1.9% in Kings. This is not to deny that remnants of the original German culture provide a distinctive local flavour (and dialect) in Lunenburg, but it does point out the degree of assimilation which has occurred, and the lack of any recent ethnic influx. In fact only one county can be regarded as ethnically diverse on all three counts of origin, birthplace and mother tongue: Antigonish scores above the provincial average on all three, owing to the combination of recent immigration with a traditional Acadian minority.

Measuring Relative Concentration

So far in this chapter I have investigated the notion of ethnic diversity, whereby a single measure is derived to describe the ethnic make-up as a whole. But each ethnic group has its own distinct pattern, and its own tendency towards segregation (*concentration*) or assimilation (*dispersal*). In the rest of the chapter, I will use a measure of concentration which allows us to compare ethnic groups of widely varying size and character.

There are a number of formulae aimed at measuring the isolation or segregation of individual ethnic groups. Despite a plethora of names and equations, they can be grouped into two main types: (i) *The Index of Dissimilarity*, so named by Duncan and Duncan (1955), and used by, for example, Guest and Weed (1976), Valey, Roof and Wilcox (1977), and Peach (1978); and (ii) *The Locational Quotient*, or index of integration, long used in geographical studies (Haggett, Clifford and Frey, 1977, 301) and applied to ethnic problems by Kenyon (1976) and Matwijiw (1979). The index of dissimilarity (also called the displacement index) provides a single figure for the entire study area, and can be interpreted as the proportion of the ethnic minority who would need to move to make that minority's strength in each county equal to its strength provincially. The locational quotient is a less gross measure, since it provides a score for each county, so that the *location* and relative strength of group clusters may be identified.

$$L_{ai} = \frac{g_i/t_i}{G/T}$$

Where L_{ai} = the locational quotient of group a in county i
g_i and t_i = the group and total populations in county i
G and T = the group and total populations for the province

Thus, the formula takes the local proportion of population divided by the provincial proportion of population. A quotient of 1.0 indicates that the group is just as important locally as in the province as a whole, while higher numbers indicate over-representation (e.g., 2.0 equals twice the provincial proportion), and lower numbers indicate under-representation (e.g., 0.5 equals half the provincial proportion). In figures 6 to 11, quotients for various ethnic groups are all mapped using the same scale, for comparability.

Comparison of Patterns for Major Groups

German and Dutch origin (Figure 7) is naturally highest in Lunenburg county, and tends to decline with distance from it. The extension of "foreign Protestant" settlement into eastern Queens and the St. Margaret's Bay area of Halifax county accounts for higher quotients in these areas, while intercounty migration (and some recent Dutch immigration) raises German/Dutch representation above the provincial average throughout central Nova Scotia. The German/Dutch are very poorly represented on Cape Breton Island, and particularly in the Sydney-Glace Bay area. Apart from Lunenburg, however, which represents historical inertia, the German/Dutch are neither highly segregated nor highly dispersed This conforms to findings for Winnipeg (Driedger and Church, 1974) and Canada as a whole (Ryder, 1955).

The population of *Black or Negro Origin* (Figure 8) is highly clustered, more so than the Germans. In Halifax county, the quotient is over 7.0, while a number of counties have quotients rounding to zero. Also in contrast to the Germans, there is no suggestion of a distance-decay effect away from the main group in Halifax county: the distribution appears, in fact, to be erratic and widely scattered. The pattern is only intelligible by means of a detailed historical study of the siting of separate black communities, of which there are some 45 in the province (Henry, 1973, 29). A capsule history must suffice here, however. Prior to the Loyalist immigration, New England settlers in the Valley and western shore had brought as many as 500 slaves to the province, a fair number of whom ended up in Halifax. After the War of Independence, about 1,000 black "servants" accompanied the 30,000 white Loyalists, plus about 3,000 free black Loyalists. These latter were

Figure 7

RELATIVE CONCENTRATION OF PEOPLE WITH GERMAN & DUTCH ETHNIC ORIGIN, 1971.

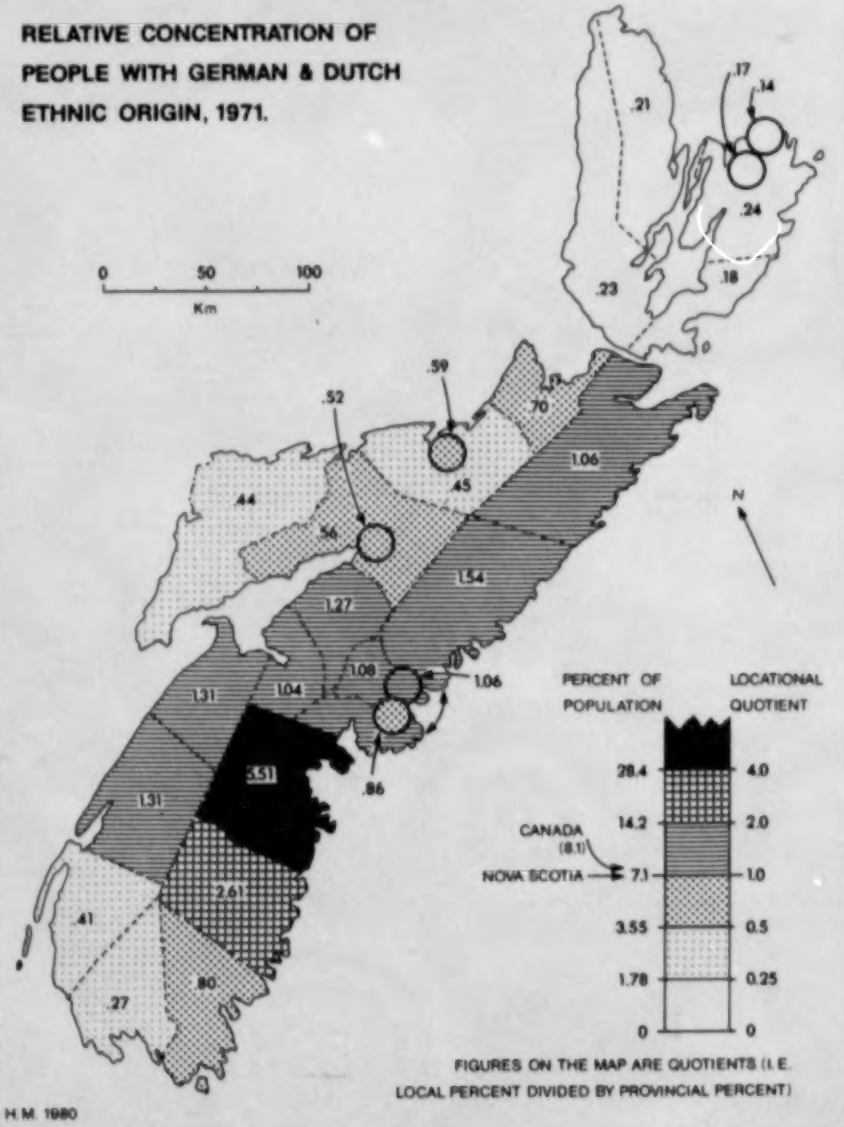
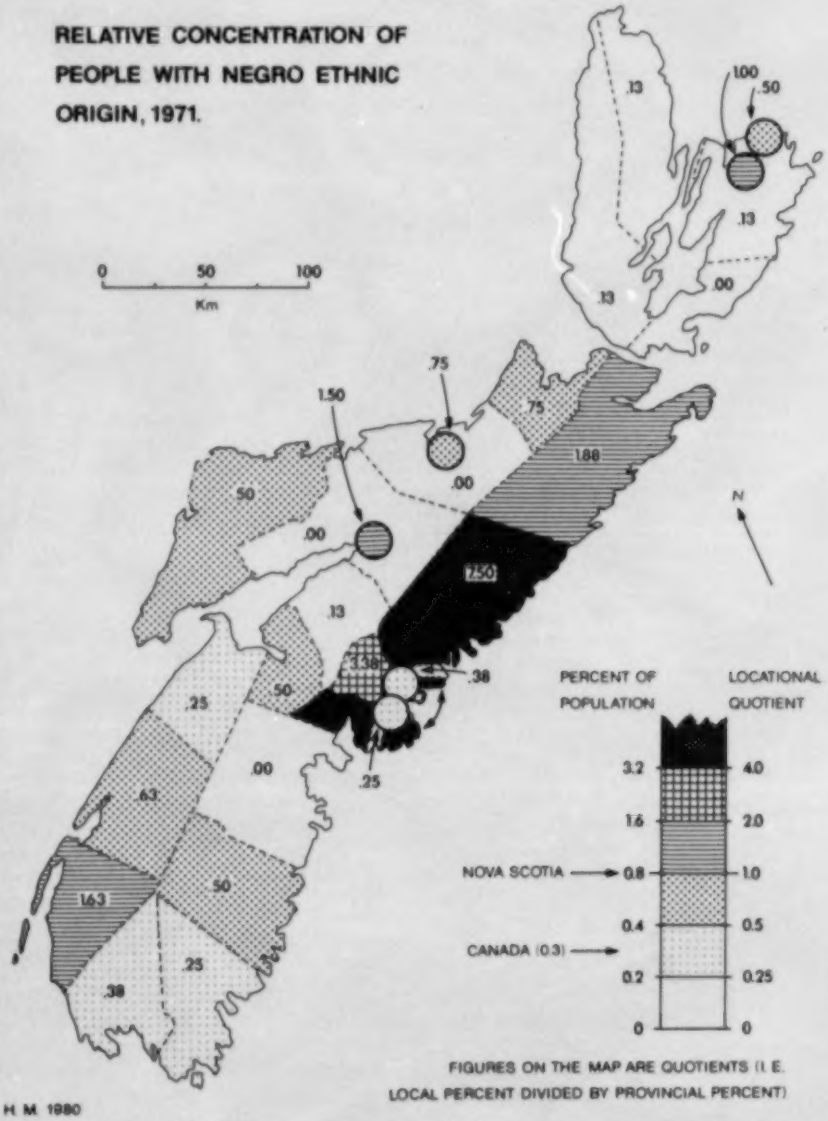


Figure 8

RELATIVE CONCENTRATION OF PEOPLE WITH NEGRO ETHNIC ORIGIN, 1971.

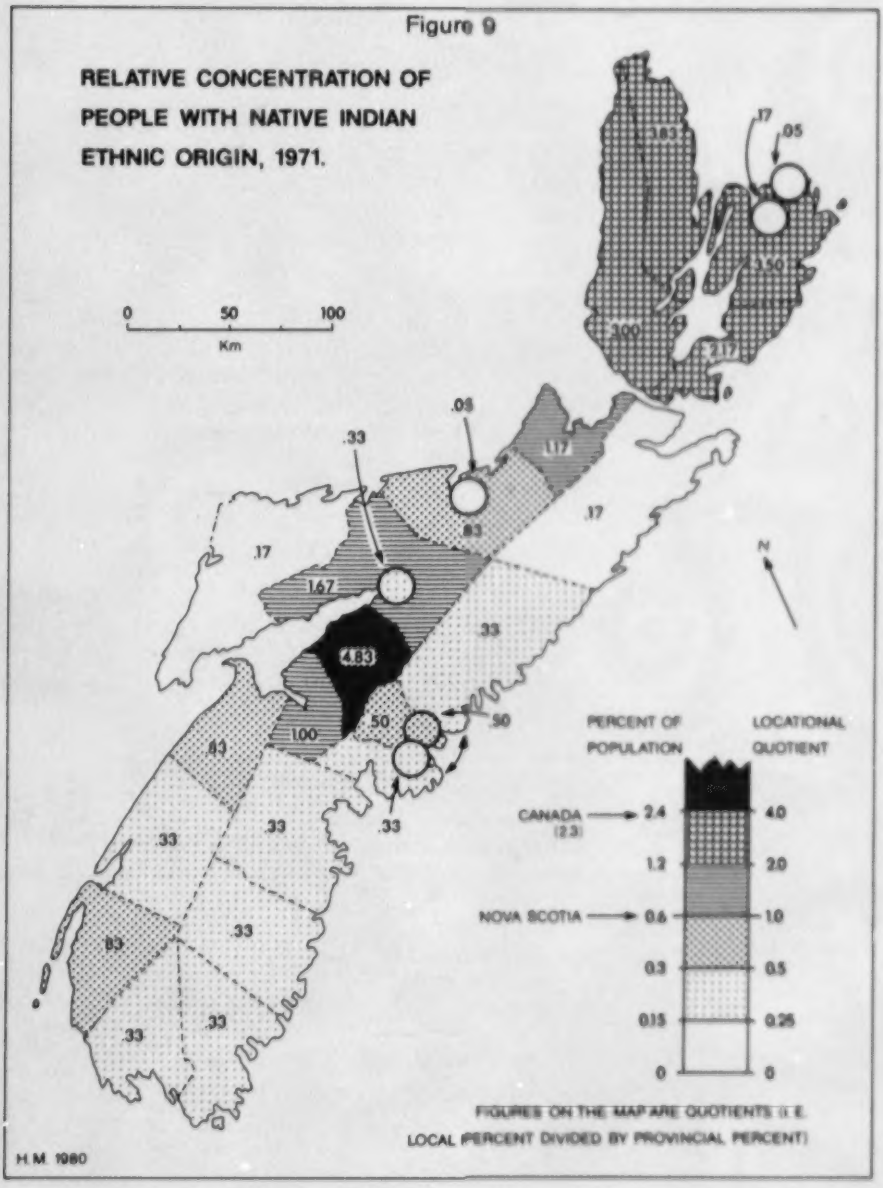


settled by the government in all-black communities on frequently poor and rocky land, mostly near Halifax (East Preston, North Preston, Cherry Brook, Hammonds Plains) but also near Digby (Acaciaville, Weymouth Falls), in Guysborough (Lincolnville, Sunnyville, Upper Big Tracadie), near Windsor (Five Mile Plains), and in black sections of Halifax city, Sydney, New Glasgow and Truro (Henry, 1973, 34-36). A large portion of the free blacks left for Sierra Leone in 1792, but their places were taken by over 2,000 black refugees from the War of 1812 who were settled in the communities surrounding Halifax (Clairmont and Wien, 1978, 152). The black population is thus highly clustered (if not segregated) on the basis of decisions made in the 1780s. There has been little progress towards assimilation or dispersal except for some intermingling with the white population in the urban areas; but even there the black population is often clustered in a small section of a few streets.

The population of *Native Indian Origin* (Figure 9) is also highly clustered. Two major concentrations occur in Cape Breton Island and in East Hants, and there is a noticeable avoidance of the eastern and south shores. The pattern is quite traditional, in that of 19 known summer villages of the Micmac in Nova Scotia, fully 7 were in Cape Breton (McGee, 1978). Prior to the American revolution, in fact, the Micmac had demanded a grant of all Cape Breton plus adjacent portions of what are now Antigonish and Guysborough counties. The total Indian population in 1971 was 4,475 (0.6% of the provincial population), a great decline from the pre-contact total of 35-45,000, but a healthy recovery from the nadir of 1,056 in 1851. Like the blacks, the native people have been concentrated into separate and segregated communities since early colonial days. Agricultural land grants were made after 1800, and by 1940 there were 38 occupied reserves. From 1940 until the mid-1950s there was a concerted effort to consolidate all natives into two reserves (Eskasoni on the East Bay of Bras d'Or Lake, and the Shubenacadie reserve in East Hants) which would become small urban-industrial development centres. The attempt was eventually abandoned, but it reduced the number of occupied reserves to 15 by 1971, only six of which had populations over 200 — Shubenacadie (504), Millbrook near Truro (221), on the mainland; and Whycocomagh (320), Middle River (201), Eskasoni (1266) and Sydney (283) all in Cape Breton.

Turning now from origin to birthplace data, recent immigration groups can be mapped by locational quotients and their patterns compared with those of the established ethnic groups. Figures 10 and 11 map the two most important birthplace minorities, the *British and*

Figure 9


RELATIVE CONCENTRATION OF PEOPLE WITH NATIVE INDIAN ETHNIC ORIGIN, 1971.
0
50
100
Km
.17
.05
3.83
3.50
3.00
2.17
.08
.33
1.17
.83
.17
.17
1.67
4.83
.33
.50
.50
1.00
.83
.33
.33
.33
.83
.33
.33
.33
N
PERCENT OF POPULATION
LOCATIONAL QUOTIENT
CANADA (2.3)
2.4
4.0
1.2
2.0
NOVA SCOTIA
0.6
1.0
0.3
0.5
0.15
0.25
0
0
FIGURES ON THE MAP ARE QUOTIENTS (I.E. LOCAL (PERCENT DIVIDED BY PROVINCIAL PERCENT)
H.M. 1980

37

Figure 10

RELATIVE CONCENTRATION OF PEOPLE BORN IN THE BRITISH ISLES, 1971.

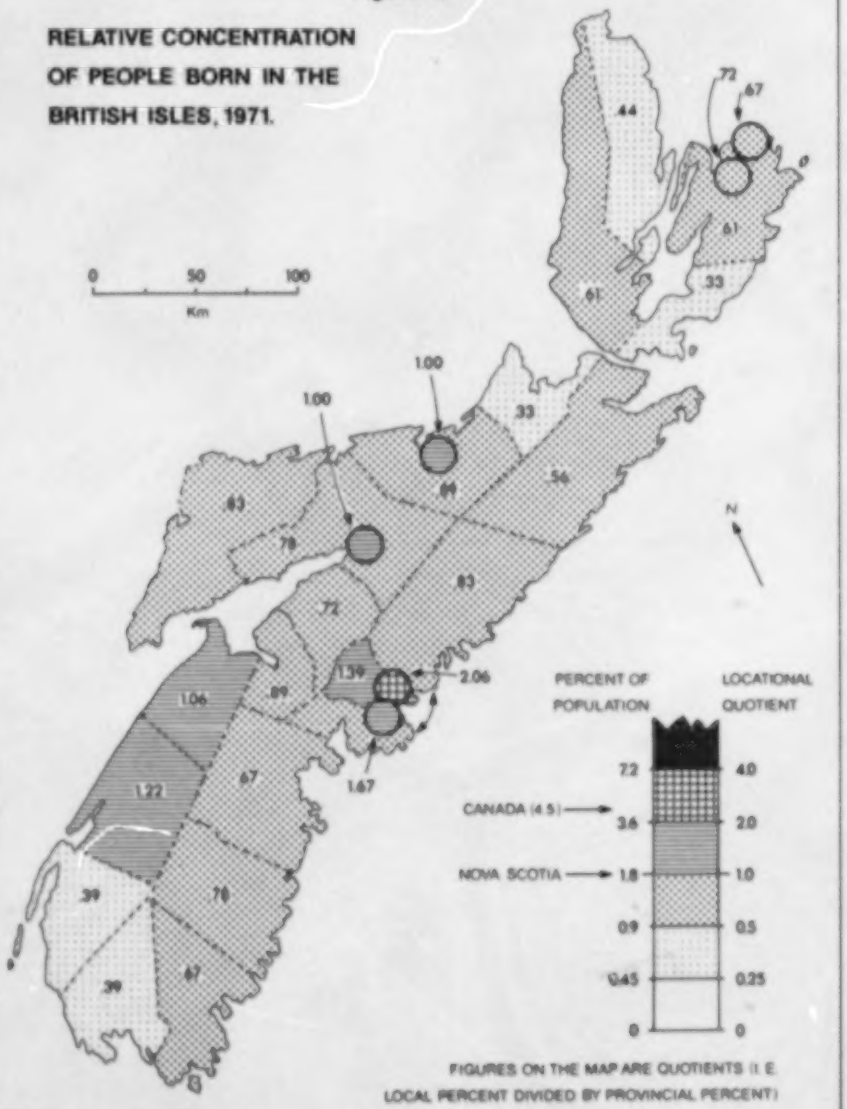
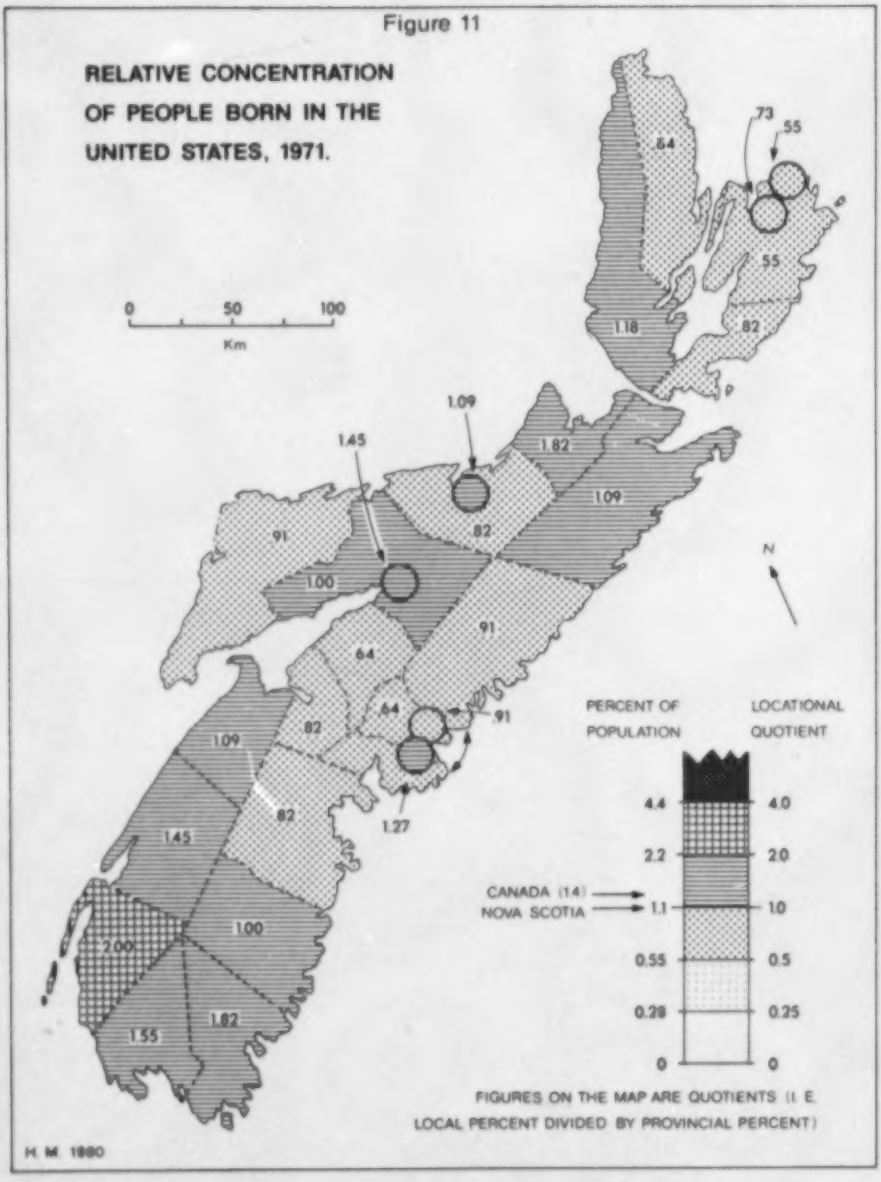


Figure 11


RELATIVE CONCENTRATION
OF PEOPLE BORN IN THE
UNITED STATES, 1971.
0
50
100
Km
N
.64
.73
.55
.55
1.18
.82
1.09
1.45
1.82
1.09
.91
.82
1.00
.91
.64
.64
.91
.82
1.09
1.27
.82
1.45
1.00
2.00
1.55
1.82
PERCENT OF POPULATION
LOCATIONAL QUOTIENT
4.4
4.0
2.2
2.0
CANADA (14)
NOVA SCOTIA
1.1
1.0
0.55
0.5
0.28
0.25
0
0
FIGURES ON THE MAP ARE QUOTIENTS (I. E.
LOCAL PERCENT DIVIDED BY PROVINCIAL PERCENT)
H. M. 1980

Americans. It is obvious that both of these groups are much more evenly spread than are the Origin minorities, presumably because they are not ethnically distinct from the province's dominant British stock. There is a tendency on the part of the British to concentrate in towns and the more prosperous counties, but they do this to a much lesser extent than other immigrant groups, as will be discussed in chapter 4. Interestingly, the British have avoided the three most French counties (Richmond, Digby and Yarmouth), and this linguistic/cultural deterrant may be partially operative in Antigonish and Inverness also. The French presence in Yarmouth and Digby counties has not, however, deterred American immigration to these areas (Figure 11); much of the American presence in the southwest of the province is through retirement to vacation homes, and is aided by proximity to New England via the Yarmouth and Digby ferries. Retirement is probably also a factor for the scenic areas of Inverness, Guysborough and Antigonish. The high quotient for the latter may also be attributable to the presence of St. Francis Xavier University. This, like other educational institutions in Halifax, Truro and Wolfville, acts as a magnet for American teaching staff.

Chapter 4

Recent Changes in the Ethnic Pattern

Change in Mother Tongue Diversity, 1971-76

The mother tongue diversity index for Nova Scotia increased slightly from 14.5 in 1971 to 15.4 in 1976. At the same time the index for Canada as a whole declined from 62.5 to 61.5. Both the Nova Scotian increase and the Canadian decrease were due largely to changes in the proportion with English mother tongue: 93.0% to 92.7% (Nova Scotia), and 60.2% to 61.4% (Canada). Strangely, the percentage of French speakers also declined in Nova Scotia (5.0% down to 4.4%), so that the small increase in diversity came about through a rise in the percentage with all other mother tongues (2.0% to 2.9%).

Table 3 shows changes in mother tongue diversity by county and larger town. Greatest index scores for both dates were for the counties with large French minorities, though all of these recorded slight declines as English made inroads on the minority language. The largest absolute decline in French speakers was in Richmond (40.5% to 36.9%), and the largest relative decline was in Antigonish (7.6% to 5.9%, or a decline of 22% in just five years).

Table 3 shows that all urban centres (plus the metro fringe) increased in mother tongue diversity. However, a number of mainly rural counties also recorded increases, noticeably Annapolis, Kings, Lunenburg and Victoria. In the latter case this is due to an increase in the proportion with Native Indian mother tongue, and reflects the high birth rate of the Native Population. In the others, however, as in the urban centres, the increase reflects a larger percentage in the "Other" mother tongue group, indicating immigration particularly from south and west Asia and the West Indies. The reason why Annapolis, Kings and Lunenburg attract new immigrants is forcefully suggested in Figure 12: other things being equal, new immigrants move to economically more healthy areas (as indicated by the percent of male workforce unemployed), and thus these areas record increases in mother tongue diversity. There is a quite *independent* attraction, however, to urban centres, as I have suggested with the separate trend line on the figure. Adherence to the trend lines is even more marked than it may appear, since the anomolous cases of Pictou and Cape Breton counties are explained by their highly urban nature (48.9 and 78.7 percent urban

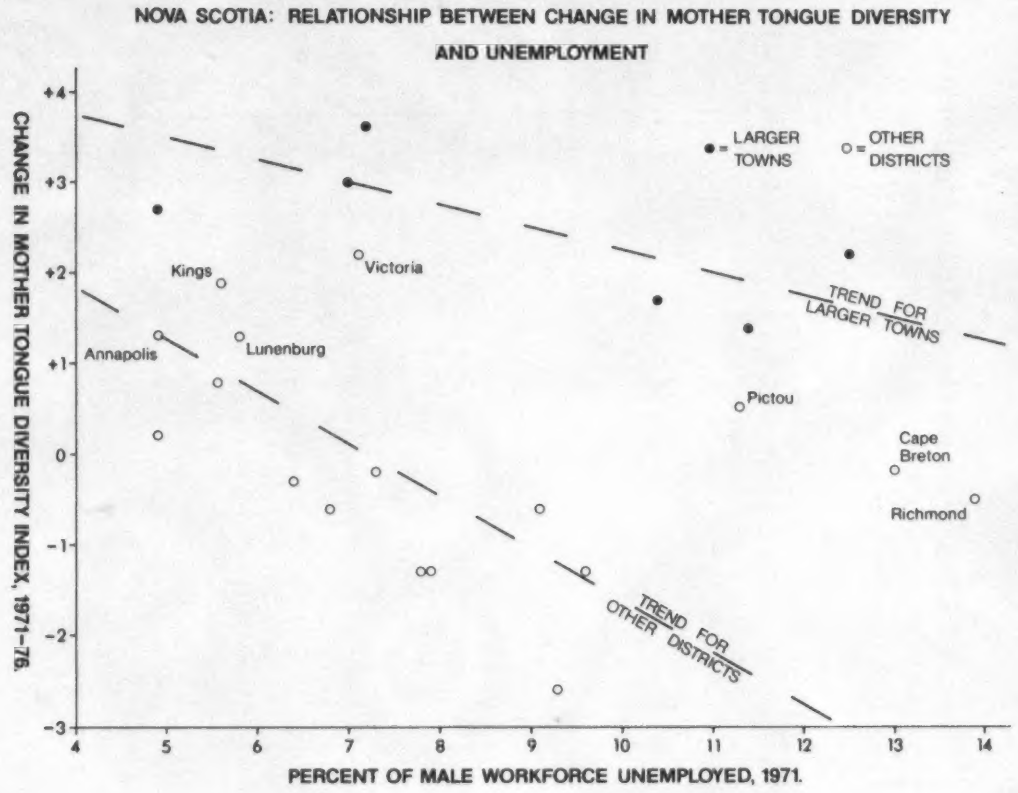

NOVA SCOTIA: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHANGE IN MOTHER TONGUE DIVERSITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT
CHANGE IN MOTHER TONGUE DIVERSITY INDEX, 1971–76.
+4
+3
+2
+1
0
-1
-2
-3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
PERCENT OF MALE WORKFORCE UNEMPLOYED, 1971.
● = LARGER TOWNS
○ = OTHER DISTRICTS
Kings
Victoria
Annapolis
Lunenburg
Pictou
Cape Breton
Richmond
TREND FOR LARGER TOWNS
TREND FOR OTHER DISTRICTS

Figure 12

respectively, even when discounting New Glasgow, Sydney and Glace Bay). Victoria is the one case in which a large increase in diversity is due neither to economic health nor urbanity but, as explained earlier, to high native birthrates. Richmond is wholly rural and economically unhealthy, yet retained its mother tongue diversity due to the size and "institutional completeness" of its French minority.

The relationship between migration and economic health is understandable. Wolpert says of the decision to migrate, "the individual will tend to locate himself at a place whose characteristics possess or promise a relatively higher level of utility than in other places which are conspicuous to him" (Wolpert, 1975, 194). Indeed, the economic motive in destination choice was one of Ravenstein's original "laws of migration". The attractiveness of urban centres to migrants has normally been regarded as due to this economic motive, but Figure 12 suggests otherwise: perhaps there is a lag effect operating, whereby urban centres which previously provided many job opportunities and drew foreign immigrants (e.g., Sydney and Glace Bay) still benefit from the effects of "chain-migration" (i.e., new immigrants moving into established ethnic communities, often with the aid and encouragement of relatives already there).

French Mother Tongue Distribution, 1976

Before going on to discuss the pattern of urban immigrant clusters, the details of the French-speaking or Acadian minority distribution should be examined. This is, after all, the province's largest ethnic minority. The proportion of population claiming French origin increased every census from 1871 to 1961, though it dropped in 1971 due to declining birth rates, and a lack of in-migrating French (or, conversely, a preponderance of inter-province in-migrants being English, as Campbell (1978, 6) suggests). As mentioned earlier, those claiming French mother tongue also dropped from 1971 to 1976, raising some concern about the viability of the minority language where it occurs in small pockets (and tending to confirm Lieberson's (1970) notion of "institutional completeness").

Figure 13 maps locational quotients by provincial census tracts rather than by counties and larger towns as in Figures 7 to 11. Because of the smaller spatial units, one would expect quotient values to be more extreme, with many areas recording quotients below 0.25, and the truly Acadian districts recording over 4.0. French is the majority mother tongue in only two tracts — the Argyle-Pubnico area of Yarmouth county and the Meteghan-Mavillette area of Digby. Over a third of the population have French mother-tongue in two adjoining areas

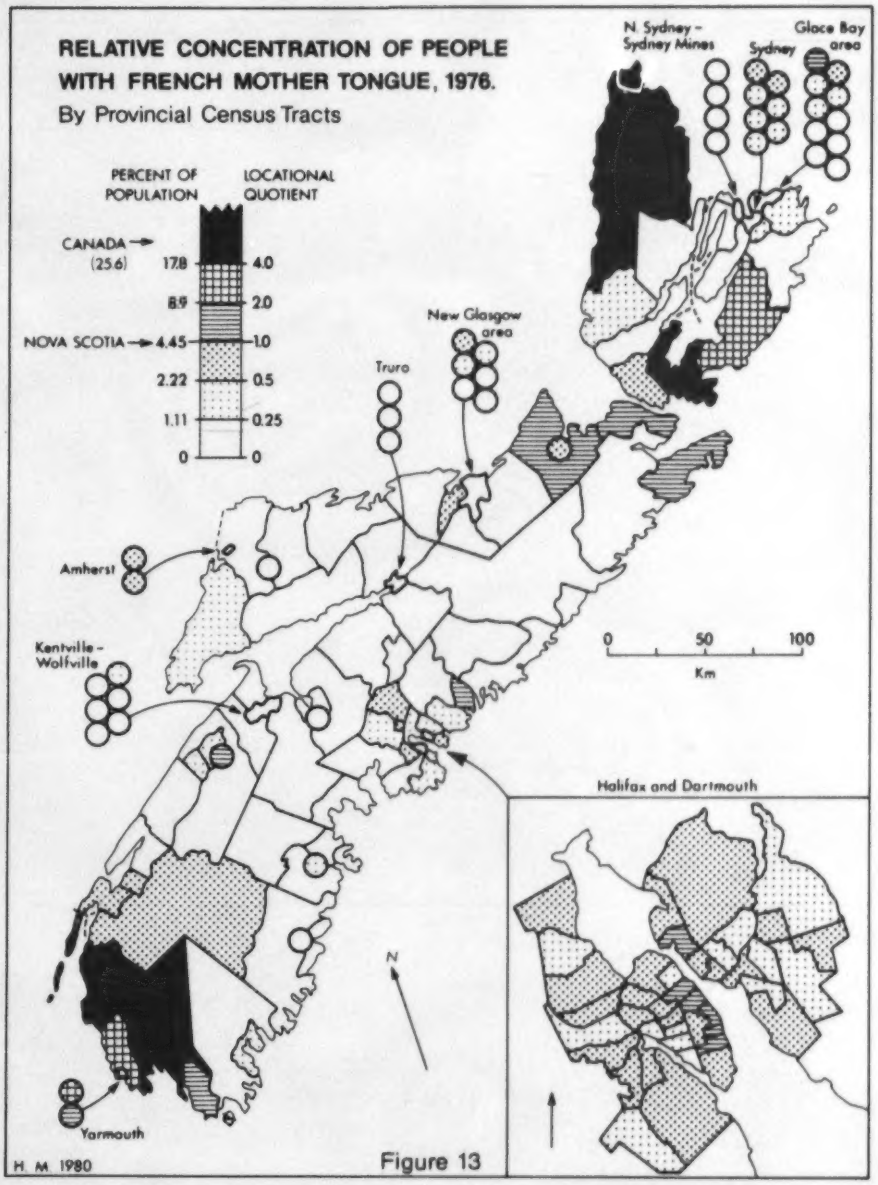

RELATIVE CONCENTRATION OF PEOPLE
WITH FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE, 1976.
By Provincial Census Tracts
PERCENT OF POPULATION
LOCATIONAL QUOTIENT
CANADA → (25.6)
17.8
8.9
NOVA SCOTIA → 4.45
2.22
1.11
0
4.0
2.0
1.0
0.5
0.25
0
N. Sydney - Sydney Mines
Sydney
Glace Bay area
New Glasgow area
Truro
Amherst
Kentville - Wolfville
Yarmouth
0 50 100
Km
Halifax and Dartmouth
N
H. M. 1980

Figure 13

—Church Point to Weymouth (Digby) and the largely unpopulated inland area of Clare municipality and Yarmouth county. The only other tract in the province with over a third French speakers is western Richmond, which includes Louisdale and Isle Madame. While there are small areas elsewhere in the province in which French speakers are the majority, these are not picked up as such at the tract level on Figure 13. They include the shore between Belle Côte and Petit Étang in Inverness, pockets around Pomquet, Tracadie and Havre Boucher in Antigonish, and the eastern shoreline of Richmond county. Communities where the language has lost ground occur around Tor Bay, Guysborough county, and West Chezzetcook, just east of Halifax.

Figure 13 also shows census tracts within urban areas, by an inset for Halifax-Dartmouth, and diagrammatically by circles for other urban centres. All the larger urban areas have their French communities, and it is clear that these tend to be spatially concentrated. In Halifax, for example, they are in the old North End and old South End, and in Dartmouth they cluster around Tuft's Cove (due mainly, one suspects, to the presence of D.N.D. housing at Shannon Park). To generalize, people with French mother tongue are most prevalent in the older and poorer sections of the cities; there are relatively few of them in the affluent and prestigious South End along the Northwest Arm, or in low-density suburban housing tracts.

How is the present pattern of French-speakers in the province to be explained? It bears very little relationship to the original distribution of the Acadians, which was oriented mainly to tidal marshlands around the Bay of Fundy. The details of early settlement from 1605 to 1755 are dealt with extensively by Clark (1968), and a map of Acadian settlements at the latter date is given in Belliveau (1977). Both Griffiths (1973) and Clark estimate a total population of 10,000 at the time of the 1755 deportation order. The three largest settlement clusters —Grand Pré, Pipiguit (near Windsor), and the Cumberland Basin area —all had about 2,500 each, while there were less than a thousand at each of Cobeguit (near Truro), Sainte Anne (Cape Breton) and around the Annapolis Basin. It is true that some escaped the deportation, but fewer than a thousand remained in 1764 (when proscription was lifted), and their lands by that time had been reassigned. The largest new Acadian settlement, in the Clare District, received official sanction in 1767, but other pockets of settlement came about in "certain underdeveloped areas of the province . . . not coveted by other settlers" (McInnes, 1978, 53). The main occupation in these areas was, by default, fishing.

Through time, with colonization of new lands and by intermarriage with surrounding anglophones, French surnames have spread to some extent around all the Acadian pockets, accounting for example for the higher incidence of French mother tongue in western Digby county and southern Inverness. More importantly, the French, like other rural dwellers, have migrated to the towns and cities of the province in search of better economic opportunities: those from Clare and Pubnico to Digby and Yarmouth, those in Cape Breton to Sydney and Glace Bay, and from all over the province (and beyond) to Halifax-Dartmouth (see Figure 13). Finally, the presence of major military bases at Greenwood (Kings Co.), Cornwallis (Annapolis Co.), and in Halifax-Dartmouth must surely have raised the proportion with French mother-tongue in these areas.

Urban Immigrant Groups

The great importance of urban centres for foreign immigrants is clearly brought out in Figure 14. Since the mid-60s over half of all new citizens in Nova Scotia have resided in the Halifax-Dartmouth metropolitan area (even though less than a third of the population at large resides there). The relative attractiveness of the metro area continued to increase to 1978 (the last date for which statistics were published), by which time almost two out of three new citizens lived there. Citizens residing in other urban centres (mainly in the larger centres of Sydney, Glace Bay, New Glasgow and Truro) formed a smaller proportion of new citizens through time, reflecting presumably a decline in the economic fortunes of the industrial areas of Pictou and Cape Breton counties. Indeed, the absolute numbers residing in urban centres declined after 1958, and did not begin to grow again until 1971. Rural areas also experienced a decline in absolute numbers of new citizens after 1958 and, in their case, the increase did not resume until 1974.

Since most new citizens in Nova Scotia reside in metro Halifax, and very few other than British, American or Dutch-born live in rural areas, it is appropriate to investigate the pattern of immigrant clusters by concentrating on the metropolitan area. Table 4 bears out this approach. It lists actual numbers with minority mother tongues in 1976, thus showing both immigrants and many first-generation Canadians as well. It does not, of course, show the true strength of the various ethnic groups, but it is reasonably accurate for the most recent immigrant communities (e.g. Portugese, Indo-Pakistani, etc.).

Some of the mother tongue groups listed in Table 4 are not immigrant groups but long-established "charter" peoples of the province: the *Native Indian* and *Gaelic*-speakers both are less urban than the

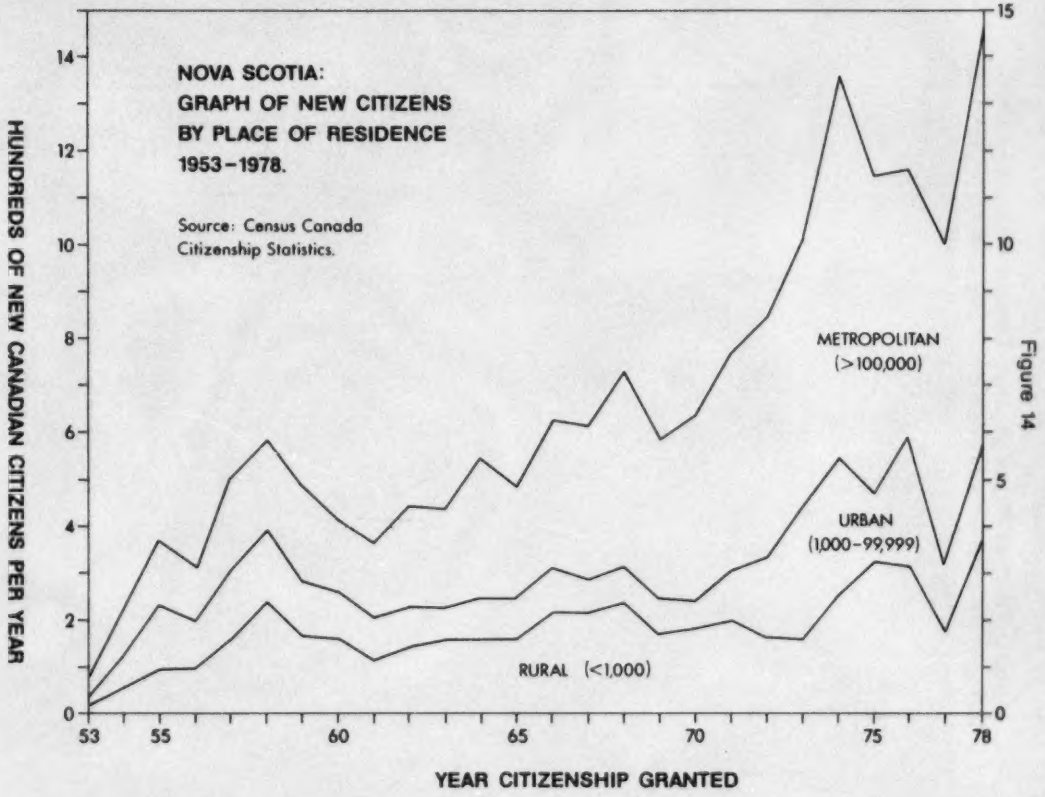

NOVA SCOTIA:
GRAPH OF NEW CITIZENS
BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE
1953-1978.
Source: Census Canada
Citizenship Statistics.
METROPOLITAN
(>100,000)
URBAN
(1,000-99,999)
RURAL (<1,000)
HUNDREDS OF NEW CANADIAN CITIZENS PER YEAR
YEAR CITIZENSHIP GRANTED
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
15
5
53
55
60
65
70
75
78

Figure 14

Table 4
Distribution of Minor Mother Tongue Groups in 1976
(all groups with populations over 100 named separately)

Language Group	Provincial Total	Halifax C.M.A.[1] core	Halifax C.M.A.[1] fringe	Sydney C.A.[2] core	Sydney C.A.[2] fringe	Percent in Halifax & Sydney Areas	Percent in Halifax Core
Total Population	828,570	206,240	61,755	35,775	52,835	48	25
Native Indian	2,340	55	5	155	10	10	2
Netherlands & Flemish	1,590	340	130	20	35	33	21
German	1,555	565	200	25	60	55	36
Italian	1,140	675	35	125	140	86	59
Semitic[3]	905	740	35	15	15	89	82
Chinese & Japanese	840	570	25	25	15	76	68
Gaelic & Welsh	700	80	10	130	70	41	13
Greek	690	570	10	35	25	93	83
Indo-Pakistani	685	410	25	25	15	69	60
Ukrainian	570	140	20	195	80	76	25
Scandinavian[4]	470	170	50	5	10	50	36
Polish	420	140	10	130	55	80	33
Magyar (Hungarian)	265	115	5	40	15	64	43
Croatian, Serbian, etc.	200	110	15	25	5	77	55
Spanish	200	145	5	—	—	75	72
Portugese	185	175	5	—	—	97	95
Czech & Slovak	185	100	5	10	25	76	54
Lithuanian, Estonian, Latvian	165	75	15	5	—	58	45
Yiddish	110	50	—	25	15	82	45
All Others[3]	395	180	30	15	15	61	46

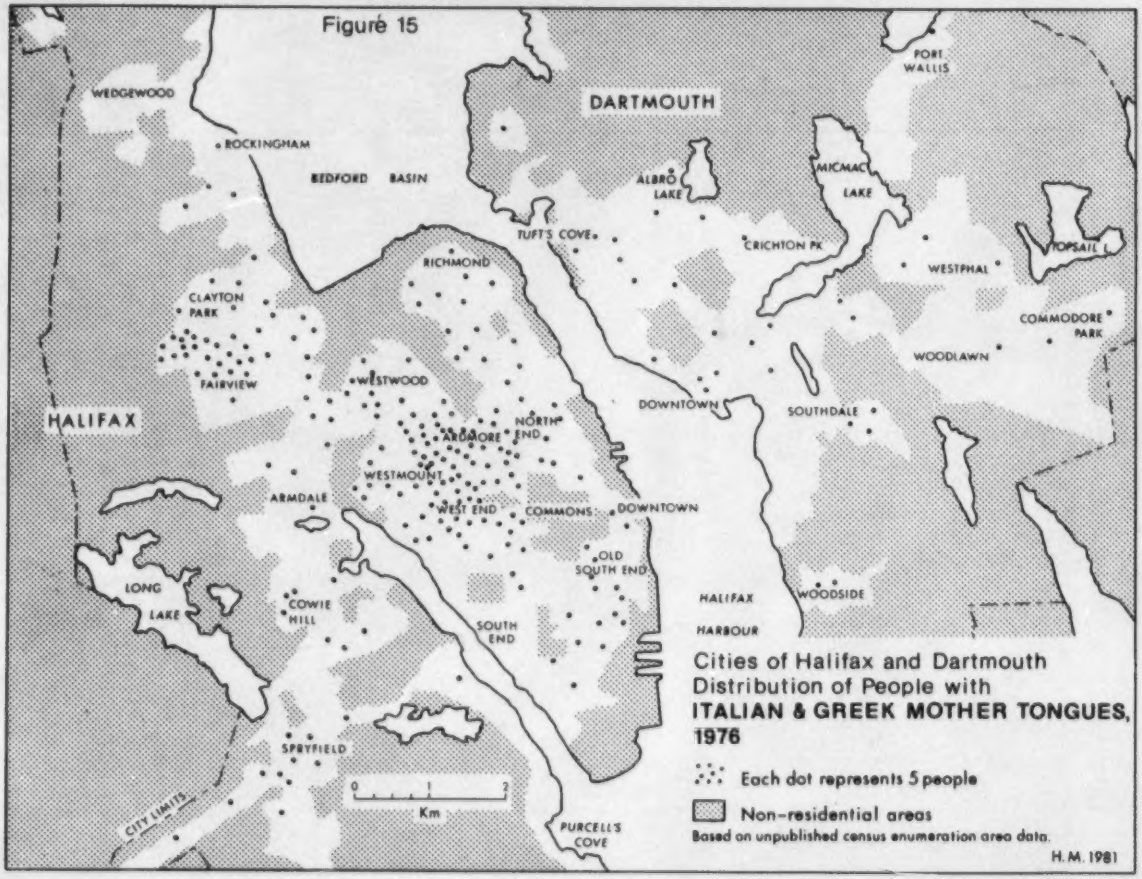
1. Halifax Census Metropolitan Area. Core includes cities of Halifax and Dartmouth, Town of Bedford, and built-up areas of Sackville and Eastern Passage.
2. Sydney Census Agglomeration. Core includes City of Sydney, plus adjacent built-up areas. Fringe includes towns of Glace Bay, New Waterford and Dominion. Sydney Mines and North Sydney are *not* included in the C.A.
3. Separate distributions in Halifax CMA and Sydney CA not available. Figures given are estimates.
4. Excludes Finnish (which has a total of 60).

provincial population as a whole (note the percentage figures on the right), suggesting that they have remained most viable in the rural areas away from homogenizing influences. Of the immigrant groups, only the *Dutch* are more rural than the population at large — two thirds of them live outside the Halifax and Sydney areas, reflecting the tendency of this large group to take up land holdings, particularly in the Annapolis Valley. Dutch immigration was relatively most important in the early post-war years, and has declined in the 60s and 70s (Sas, 1956).

Two other north European groups — those with *German* and *Scandinavian* mother tongues — also immigrated mainly before 1960, and are very well dispersed throughout the province. They are only slightly more urban than the population at large, and do not cluster within the urban areas. This latter fact has been noted also for Germans in Winnipeg by Dreidger and Church (1974), and in a separate study of Winnipeg by Matwijiw (1979). The various Slavic minority groups are also older-established. The most important of these are the *Ukrainian* and *Polish*, who had migrated into industrial Cape Breton in significant numbers in the first few decades of the century, to work in the mines and steel plant. There has been little immigration of these groups since 1950, and with depressed conditions in Cape Breton there is a gradual dispersal to the rest of the province, particularly the Halifax area. The *Hungarian* Magyar-speakers were a sizeable group before the Second World War, and their numbers jumped again after the 1956 uprising, but there has been very little new blood since. Again, while remaining largely urban, they have had time to disperse considerably.

The most recent immigrant groups are either South European or Asian. The major mother-tongues in 1976 were Italian, Semitic, Chinese & Japanese, Greek and Indo-Pakistani. All are highly urban and characterized by chain-migration, though the particulars of their history and distribution in the province vary considerably. The *Italians* were already present in the hundreds in 1871, and immigrated to industrial Cape Breton in large numbers in the opening years of the century. Most of the 1,140 listed in Table 4 are, however, recent immigrants during the 60s and 70s, settling in Halifax and Dartmouth. Their distribution within these cities is strikingly similar to that of the *Greeks*, who are almost wholly recent arrivals. Since the two language groups are so closely associated in geographical terms, it is appropriate to map them together, and this is done by enumeration areas in Figure 15. A total number of 1,195 people are mapped — 635 Italian speakers (520 of which are in Halifax), and 560 Greek-speakers (500 in Halifax).

Figure 15


WEDGEWOOD
ROCKINGHAM
BEDFORD BASIN
DARTMOUTH
PORT WALLIS
ALBRO LAKE
MICMAC LAKE
TUFT'S COVE
CRICHTON PK
TOPSAIL
WESTPHAL
COMMODORE PARK
WOODLAWN
RICHMOND
CLAYTON PARK
FAIRVIEW
WESTWOOD
HALIFAX
NORTH END
DOWNTOWN
SOUTHDALE
ARMOORE
WESTMOUNT
ARMDALE
WEST END
COMMONS
DOWNTOWN
OLD SOUTH END
LONG LAKE
COWIE HILL
SOUTH END
HALIFAX HARBOUR
WOODSIDE
SPRYFIELD
CITY LIMITS
0 1 2
Km
PURCELL'S COVE
Cities of Halifax and Dartmouth
Distribution of People with
ITALIAN & GREEK MOTHER TONGUES, 1976
Each dot represents 5 people
Non-residential areas
Based on unpublished census enumeration area data.
H.M. 1981

These numbers represent about 55 percent of all those with Italian and Greek origin.

Clearly, Italians and Greeks are concentrated in the central peninsula area of Halifax, in the West End and Ardmore districts. These are low to middle-income areas central to a wide range of services and amenities. Housing in the West End is mainly inter-war and divided (or divisible) into flats and apartments. The Greeks and Italians are clustered mainly to the north of the commercial strip along Quinpool Road, and this clustering extends to the small and relatively inexpensive "pre-fab" houses of Ardmore, built during the Second World War. For the Italians at least, it is significant that this large cluster centres on St. Theresa's Church. Greeks and Italians generally avoid housing in the older pre-1914 parts of the city (the North End in particular), are virtually absent from the prestigious South End, and locate in very small numbers in the newer suburban subdivisions of Dartmouth and mainland Halifax. The one clear exception is the secondary ethnic cluster along Fairview's Main Street and the adjacent western edge of Clayton Park. Both areas have many semi-detached units favoured by Italians for joint residence/investment purposes, and focus on a Catholic church.

The 840 *Chinese and Japanese* listed in Table 4 are nearly all Chinese. Like the Southern Europeans, they are highly urban, with 400 residing in Halifax city alone (and 160 in Dartmouth). Several hundred are scattered in the smaller towns of the province, many as restauranteurs. Partly because of this occupation, they are well distributed throughout Halifax and Dartmouth, with no marked clustering. In 1976 there were no more than 15 of them in any enumeration area.

Enumeration area statistics list both Semitic and Indo-Pakistani speakers under a residual "other" category. From the estimates in Table 4 and various other statistics it is possible to deduce that of the 2,225 listed in this category in Halifax and Dartmouth, approximately 700 are Arabic-speakers and about 370 Indo-Pakistani. All other languages have 160 speakers (Portugese) or less, so that a mapping of the "other" category gives a good indication of the distribution of south and west Asians (Figure 16). For the well-established *Lebanese* community (which equals nearly all the Semitic speakers), it should be borne in mind that the number with the mother tongue is perhaps less than 50 percent of those with Lebanese origin. This is much less true for the Indo-Pakistanis, who are nearly all recent immigrants.

The Lebanese have been present in Nova Scotia since the late 1800s (Joseph, 1978, 217), though the number of immigrants grew

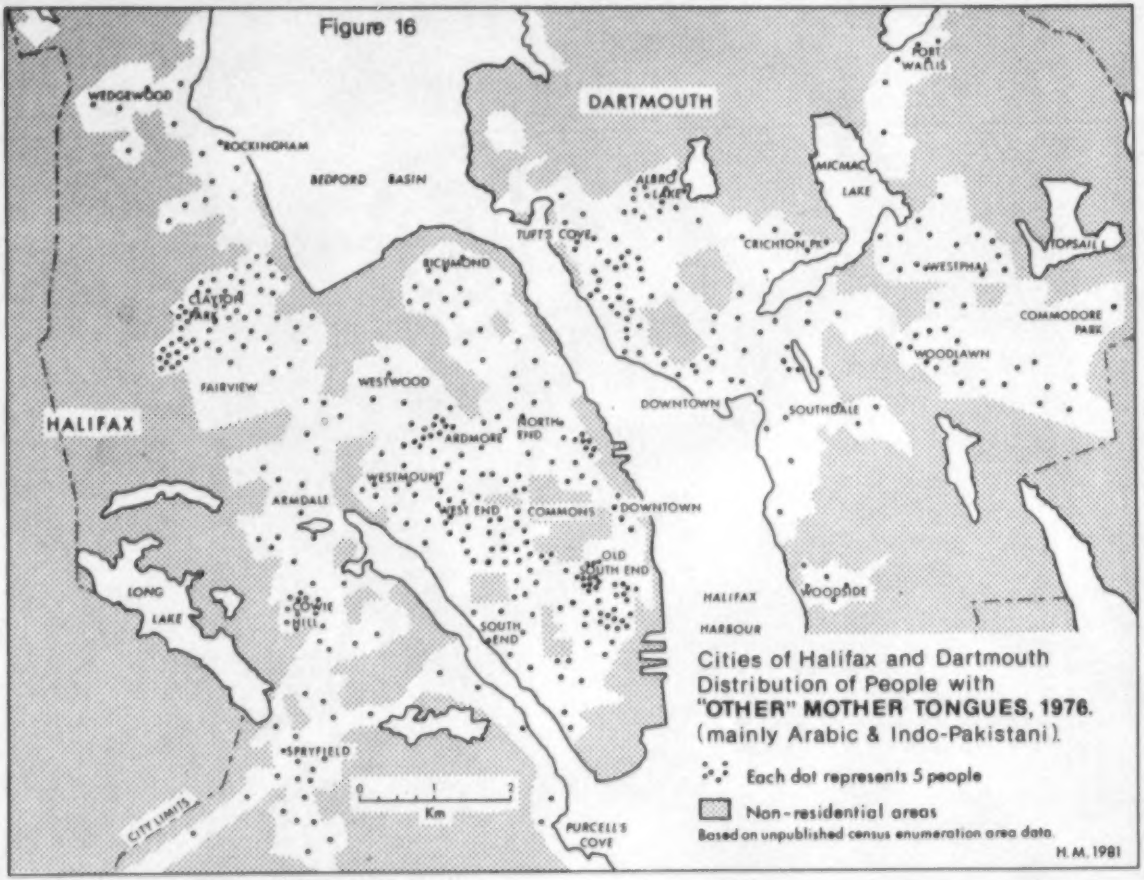


Figure 16
DARTMOUTH
WEDGEWOOD
ROCKINGHAM
BEDFORD BASIN
TUFTS COVE
CRICHTON PK.
MICMAC LAKE
WESTPHAL
TOPSAIL
COMMODORE PARK
WOODLAWN
SOUTHDALE
DOWNTOWN
RICHMOND
CLAYTON PARK
FAIRVIEW
WESTWOOD
HALIFAX
ARDMORE
NORTH END
WESTMOUNT
ARMDALE
WEST END
COMMONS
DOWNTOWN
OLD SOUTH END
LONG LAKE
COVIE HILL
SOUTH END
HALIFAX HARBOUR
WOODSIDE
SPRYFIELD
CITY LIMITS
PURCELL'S COVE
0 1 2
Km
Cities of Halifax and Dartmouth
Distribution of People with
"OTHER" MOTHER TONGUES, 1976.
(mainly Arabic & Indo-Pakistani).
Each dot represents 5 people
Non-residential areas
Based on unpublished census enumeration area data.
H.M. 1981

sharply after 1950, and continued to increase in the 70s (due in part to the Civil War). Migration is typically of the "chain" type, facilitated by relatives already in Canada (see Joseph, 1978, 220), and this tends to establish distinct clusters of Lebanese. These are in the West End area (centred on the Maronite Catholic church on Quinpool), in neighbouring Ardmore, in Spryfield, the Old South End, and the area of Dartmouth west of the Commons (see Figure 16). However, in their frequent role of shopkeepers they are also distributed thinly throughout the built-up area.

The *Indo-Pakistanis* in Halifax-Dartmouth tend to be professionals of more than average income. As a result, it is not surprising that they have clustered most conspicuously in Clayton Park, a prestigious subdivision of 1970s vintage. There has been very little Indo-Pakistani penetration of the other main high-income area in Halifax, the South End, and it is difficult to suggest reasons why. However, the South End is composed mainly of older homes built in the inter-war and early post-war periods, is the bastion of the Halifax élite, and is definitely pricier than Clayton Park. Another area of Indo-Pakistani concentration is Cowie Hill, a recent subdivision of very modestly priced townhouses (in fact, sale prices are very low considering their central location and age, and this presumably is their attraction).

Taking all the figures in Table 4 together, it is interesting to compare the ethnic character of Halifax-Dartmouth and Sydney (the "core" figures are most relevant here, since the "fringes" have far fewer ethnics per thousand population). In Halifax-Dartmouth, the four strongest groups (aside from British and French) are Semitic (Lebanese mainly), Italian, Chinese-Japanese, and Greek. In Sydney, by contrast, we have Ukrainian, Native Indian, Gaelic, and Polish. Most of Sydney's ethnics are either local migrants from Cape Breton (the Gaels and Native Indians), or are older Slavic groups who migrated during the boom decades early in the century. In Halifax, most ethnics are either immigrants themselves or first-generation Canadians, Asians and Mediterraneans are much more prevalent, and there are some groups (e.g. the Portugese and Spanish) which are not represented at all in Sydney. Sydney in 1976 was just as "ethnic" as Halifax-Dartmouth, in that 4.48 percent of its population had a mother tongue other than English or French, compared to 4.46 percent, but its ethnic population was more established and lacked marked cultural and racial contrasts with the larger society. Given current destinations of immigrants, the trend is towards increasing ethnicity in Halifax-Dartmouth and decreasing ethnicity in Sydney-Glace Bay.

Chapter 5

Identifying Nova Scotia's Ethnic Regions

Grouping the Ethnic Groups

In previous chapters, we have noted the highly regional character of ethnicity in the province, which holds true whether we examine ethnic origin, mother tongue or birthplace. Depending on the variable of ethnicity employed, however, the regional pattern varies markedly — e.g., Lunenburg is very German on the basis of origin data, yet hardly so at all on the basis of mother tongue or birthplace. Also, the regional patterns discussed so far have related to levels of diversity or to individual ethnic groups, not to characteristic mixes of ethnic groups (the ethnic "character" of the various counties and towns). This overall character can be approached by using the data matrix of all thirty variables for each of the twenty six counties and towns in a factor analysis. The variables are the percentages of the population in each of ten groups for each of the three census questions (ethnic origin, mother tongue, and birthplace), and are listed at the end of chapter one. Factor analysis is a statistical technique which helps to identify the underlying structure exhibited by a group of variables; it composes many variables into a smaller number of "underlying dimensions", or factors, which can be thought of as a new set of macro-variables (see Rummel, 1967). A discussion of these macro-variables will therefore serve to summarize the pattern and process of Nova Scotia's ethnic geography.

The factor analysis program used was BMDX72M, from the California State University Statistical Laboratory, and the varimax rotated factor matrix is presented in Table 5. This table shows factor loadings for the eight factors with eigenvalues over 1.0. The loadings represent correlation coefficients between the original variables and the new factors, and the eigenvalue for a factor is the sum of the squared loadings. By dividing eigenvalues by the number of variables, we find the proportion of variation in the original data accounted for separately by each factor. The eight factors shown account cumulatively for 87.1% of all variation, with the first three factors alone accounting for 61.7%.

The variables correlating most highly with Factor I are, in order, Slavic mother tongue, Ukranian-Polish-Russian origin, Italian origin,

Table 5
Rotated Factor Matrix: Factors with Eigenvalues over 1.0

Factor Number	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Factor Label	Older Urban Immigrants	English/ French	Urban Newcomers	Natives & Gaels	Older Rural Immigrants	Blacks	Scandinavian	German Origin
Eigenvalue	9.94	4.43	4.13	2.41	1.64	1.34	1.17	1.08
% Variation Accounted For	33.1	14.8	13.8	8.3	5.5.	4.5	3.9	3.6
Origin								
British	.10	**.89**	.00	.09	.05	.07	-.03	.39
French	-.10	**-.97**	.03	.04	-.11	.01	.07	.11
Scandinavian	-.24	.29	-.03	-.01	-.11	.22	**-.80**	.06
German	-.22	.13	.02	-.24	.11	.01	-.02	**-.86**
Ukrainian, Polish, Russian	**.93**	.10	.03	-.03	-.03	-.01	.14	.10
Italian	**.91**	.11	-.20	.07	-.14	.01	.06	-.05
Negro	-.06	.04	.03	-.21	-.05	**-.93**	.04	.01
Jew	**.77**	-.08	-.47	-.12	-.06	.01	-.09	.03
Native	-.08	-.01	.16	**.87**	-.02	.16	.08	-.06
Other	.53	.21	**-.62**	-.16	.00	.06	-.27	-.09
Mother Tongue								
English	.10	**.95**	-.03	-.13	.12	-.04	-.06	-.16
French	-.13	**-.95**	.06	.05	-.13	.04	.07	.15
Gaelic	.05	-.10	.06	**.80**	.05	-.02	-.01	.25
German, Dutch	-.28	.14	-.03	.13	**.86**	-.05	-.15	-.14
Slavic	**.96**	.08	-.10	-.01	-.05	-.01	-.00	.12
Italian	**.74**	.02	-.49	.04	-.01	-.01	-.10	.04
Greek	.36	.07	**-.81**	-.08	-.02	.08	-.01	.04
Native	-.03	-.04	.14	**.95**	-.10	.12	.05	.05
Chinese	.17	-.02	**-.88**	.02	.13	.05	.20	.20
Other	.15	.12	**-.82**	-.07	-.01	-.36	-.11	-.09
Birthplace								
Canada	-.14	-.14	**.72**	.34	-.40	-.21	.18	-.12
U.S.A.	-.41	-.36	-.21	-.40	.21	.13	.25	.40
British Isles	.06	.40	-.54	-.27	.14	-.05	-.42	-.07
Scandinavia	.16	-.11	-.31	-.09	.31	-.34	**-.65**	-.16
W. Europe	-.03	.25	-.09	-.17	**.88**	.09	.10	.04
S. Europe	.53	.10	**-.76**	-.08	-.04	-.10	-.16	.01
E. Europe	**.88**	.22	-.32	.02	-.04	.05	.10	.02
Asia	.09	-.09	**-.92**	.05	.01	.11	-.07	.01
W.I., Latin America	.52	.03	**-.61**	-.11	.25	.04	-.27	.25
Other	.01	-.12	**-.70**	-.30	.03	-.09	.03	-.16

NOTE: **Numbers circled** are highest loadings for each variable.

Jewish origin, and Italian mother tongue. What do these variables have in common? They represent the older European immigrant groups, and particularly those groups who migrated to industrial Cape Breton in the early decades of this century. Factor I is therefore labelled the *Older Urban Immigrant factor*. Factor II can easily be labelled the *English/French factor*, since both British and French origin and mother tongue load heavily on it, the British positively and the French negatively. This factor ostensibly accounts for much less variation than factor I (only 14.8% compared with 33.1%), despite the fact that the French are by far the largest ethnic minority. The reason for this is that in factor analysis each original variable is standardized before factors are extracted (that is, individual data values are transformed by subtracting the mean and dividing through by the standard deviation). As a consequence, the transformed variables add equally to the total amount of variation in the data, and factors with high loadings for a number of variables therefore account for more variation than factors with only a few high loadings. If we wish to appraise the factors in terms of the proportion of the *original* data variation accounted for by each, we need to look at the standard deviations of the original variables. The highest four of these (ranging from 13.37 to 11.77) relate to French and English origin and mother tongue, thus showing the English/French factor to be the most important. German origin has a standard deviation only about two thirds as large (7.71), and all other variables have standard deviations smaller than 1.41. By carefully reviewing the standard deviations and factor loadings in conjunction, it appears that the order of importance of the factors is as follows: II, VIII, III, VI, I, IV, V and VII. The last one in particular is of virtually no importance.

Having made this cautionary note regarding eigenvalues and percent of variation accounted for, the remaining factors in Table 5 can be interpreted and given their due weight. Factor III has high negative loadings for Chinese, Greek, and "Other" mother tongues, and for Asian and South European birthplaces. Clearly, this factor identifies newer immigrant groups, particularly the highly urban groups identified in Table 4 (Semitic, Chinese, Indo-Pakistani, Spanish and Portugese). I have labelled it the *Urban Newcomers* factor.

Factor IV clearly relates to *Natives and Gaels*. The loading of these seemingly unlike groups on the same factor is due to their largely coincidental spatial relationship: both occur in large numbers on Cape Breton Island. This factor could equally well be termed a "rural Cape Breton" factor (as factor I is an "urban Cape Breton" factor).

Factor V is interesting in that at first glance it would seem to identify variables similar to those loading on Factor VII. But, while Factor VII has a high loading only for those of *German origin*, Factor V highlights German (and Dutch) mother tongue. Since it also has a high loading for Western European birthplace, it is clear that this is an *immigrant* factor, while Factor VII distinguishes the "foreign Protestants" who were a "charter" ethnic group. Also, Factor V reflects Dutch immigrants as well as Germans and, as we saw in Table 4, the Dutch are the largest mother tongue group in the province (other than Native Indians), followed closely by the Germans. I have termed this factor the *Older Rural Immigrants* factor, since both Dutch and Germans immigrated mainly in the early post-war period and tended to settle in farming areas of the province, rather than in the cities and towns.

The final factor of any consequence is number VI, the *Blacks* factor. This is actually the fourth most important in terms of original variance accounted for. Also, if principal component analysis had been used rather than factor analysis, this factor would have accounted for more variation (since *all* variation is entered in principal components, rather than just the communality — see Rummel, 1967). It is significant that the distribution of Blacks is unrelated to the distribution of any other group; they are clearly a unique element in the province's ethnic mosaic.

Table 5 also shows Factor VII, with a high loading for those of Scandinavian origin, and a somewhat lower loading for Scandinavian birthplace. However, as suggested above, the eigenvalue is misleading in that Scandinavians represent, by themselves, a virtually insignificant group, so that this factor would account for hardly any variation in the original data.

The Ethnic Regionalization

The score which a county or town receives for any particular factor is found by summing the standardized data values multiplied by that factor's loadings. The score therefore represents the degree to which the factor is present in that county or town. Table 6 lists the factor scores, with the most important ones (i.e. scores most unlike the typical scores) in bold. These bold scores allow us to identify the distinguishing features of each area's ethnic make-up (i.e., whether and how they vary markedly from the provincial norm), and thereby to attempt a crude regionalization of the province on ethnic lines.

Figure 17 was constructed directly from the bold scores in Table 6, except that Factor VII was omitted. Most areas of the province can be distinguished by one or more factors, but the counties of Cumber-

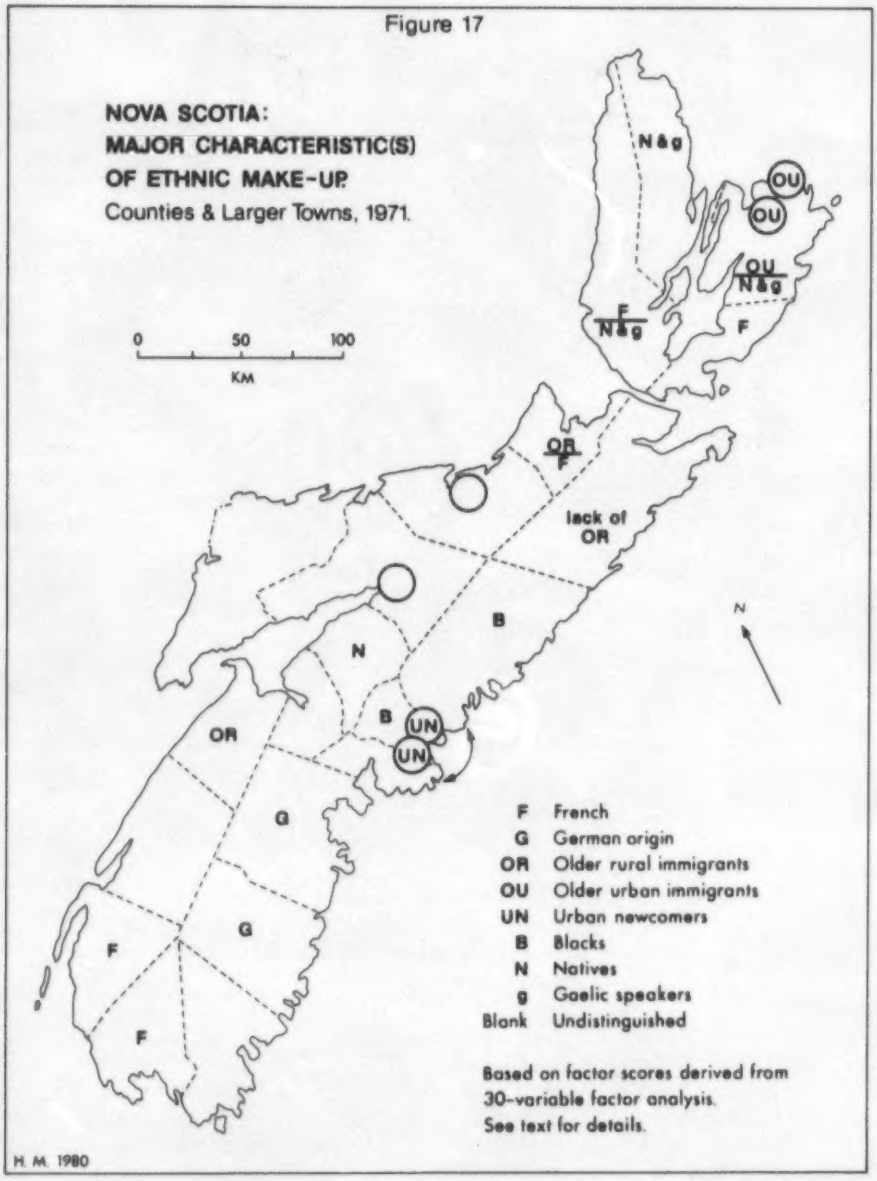
Table 6
Factor Scores for Factors with Eigenvalues over 1.0

Factor Number	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Factor Label	Older Urban Immigrants	English/ French	Urban Newcomers	Natives & Gaels	Older Rural Immigrants	Blacks	Scandinavian	German Origin
Annapolis	-.36	.69	.58	-.94	.67	.53	.56	.40
Antigonish	-.49	**-.61**	-.59	.53	2.77	-.22	**1.36**	.50
Cape Breton	**1.33**	.39	.34	**1.53**	-.76	.24	1.14	-.69
Colchester	-.64	.77	.62	.13	.06	.79	-.50	.40
Cumberland	-.05	.28	.49	-.54	.01	.19	-1.15	.62
Digby	-.76	**-2.40**	-.17	-.92	-.53	.08	**1.40**	.62
Guysborough	-.70	.59	.07	-.54	**-1.79**	-.89	.93	.19
Halifax county	-.36	.30	.18	-.15	-.10	**-4.09**	.26	-.41
Hants, east	-.16	.78	.28	**1.26**	.15	.66	.85	-1.12
Hants, west	-.56	.33	.34	-.07	-.80	-.19	-1.36	-.26
Inverness	-.17	**-1.00**	.35	**2.02**	.86	-.52	-.40	.87
Kings	.11	.27	.82	-.49	**2.71**	.61	-.71	.16
Lunenburg	-.30	-.25	.23	-.48	.09	.63	-.02	**-3.87**
Pictou	-.18	.52	.67	.01	.49	.05	-.46	.27
Queens	-.54	.45	.32	-.60	-.06	.49	.64	**-1.29**
Richmond	-.12	**-2.67**	.41	.99	-.88	.58	-.47	-.24
Shelburne	-.56	.71	.35	-1.07	-1.00	1.34	-.95	1.34
Victoria	-.66	.90	.04	**3.02**	-.93	.28	-.35	.72
Yarmouth	-.22	**-2.17**	.53	-.88	-.51	.18	-.38	.34
Dartmouth	-.10	.41	**-1.55**	-.34	-.22	.27	-1.28	-.34
Glace Bay	**1.74**	.62	.50	-.50	-.69	.38	.99	.56
Halifax city	.66	-.17	**-4.17**	.10	.05	.24	-.77	-.11
Metro fringe	.23	.13	.36	-.46	.42	**-1.44**	**-2.17**	-.23
New Glasgow	-.36	.63	-.72	-.48	.33	.13	**1.40**	.25
Sydney	**3.93**	-.25	.42	-.41	-.01	-.23	.04	.32
Truro	-.73	.77	-.70	-.73	-.34	-.10	**1.40**	1.01
Median Scores	-.25	.36	.34	-.38	-.04	.22	-.18	.26

NOTE: Bold numbers are ±1.5 from median for the factor, (±0.75 for Factor II).

land, Colchester, Pictou, Annapolis and Shelburne, along with West Hants, Truro and New Glasgow, do not differ sufficiently from the provincial norm to be distinguished by any factor. These areas lack large minority groups, being essentially of British ethnic origin and having received few immigrants during this century. They are not entirely an homogenous group, however, since Pictou and New Glasgow have populations of largely Scottish origin, while the rest (except for Cumberland) were settled mainly by New Englanders. It would be misleading to call this group of areas the British group, since nearly all areas of the province are predominantly British. And it is arguable whether those whose forbears were of British or American stock can

Figure 17


NOVA SCOTIA:
MAJOR CHARACTERISTIC(S)
OF ETHNIC MAKE-UP
Counties & Larger Towns, 1971.
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lack of
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F
N
F French
G German origin
OR Older rural immigrants
OU Older urban immigrants
UN Urban newcomers
B Blacks
N Natives
g Gaelic speakers
Blank Undistinguished
Based on factor scores derived from
30-variable factor analysis.
See text for details.
H. M. 1980

presently be considered an ethnic group. Most surely now think of themselves simply as Nova Scotians.

The second major group of counties on Figure 17 are distinguished by their sizeable French minorities. As discussed in chapter 4, the French are confined to compact pockets even within these five counties, and their discontiguous distribution is a serious factor in the decline of their language as a mother tongue. The decline has been least severe, in relative terms, in Richmond and Digby counties, and it appears that a distinct Acadian culture may not be viable elsewhere.

The two main urban regions of the province each have their own distinguishing characteristic. Halifax and Dartmouth differ from the province as a whole through their peculiar concentration of newer immigrants while Sydney and Glace Bay are notable for their concentration of earlier (and largely east European) immigrants. Antigonish and Kings counties are also distinguished by their older immigrants, particularly the Dutch, while Guysborough is notable because of its *lack* of rural immigrants. Except for this lack, Guysborough is similar to the "undistinguished" or British group of counties.

Two other regions emerge on Figure 17. One is comprised of three rural Cape Breton counties, each scoring highly on the Natives and Gael factor. The other comprises Lunenburg county and, to a lesser extent, neighbouring Queens county, both distinguished by a high proportion of people with German origin. It would be misleading to speak of a "Black region" in Halifax county, since the black communities are so few and so concentrated. Neither does it make sense to think of Hants East as part of a "Native region", since its high score on the Native and Gael factor is due solely to the presence of the Shubenacadie Indian reserve.

Summary

In this study I have attempted, largely through the medium of tables and maps, to characterize the geographical distribution of Nova Scotia's ethnic groups, and to identify the ethnic individuality of the province's regions. In some ways, the study covers old ground, since Clark's 1960 article also investigated ethnic origin and mother tongue by county and census subdivision. Clark's work, however, relied on 1951 data, and emphasized the historical origins of ethnicity rather than recent trends in the ethnic character of the province's counties and towns. The present study makes a contribution, also, in using indices of diversity as summary measures of ethnicity, and locational quotients as tools which allow direct comparison between the patterns of various ethnic groups. Finally, the factor analysis of 30 ethnic vari-

ables represents, I believe, the first such statistical analysis of the province's ethnic structure. While its results serve largely to underscore patterns and trends noted in earlier chapters, they do provide an objective way of categorizing and regionalizing the changing ethnic pattern. That the ethnic pattern *is* changing is made clear by the presence of several factors relating to recent immigrants. When 1981 census statistics become available, it will be interesting to discover, through further factor analysis, the extent and rate of such changes.

But, while changes are clearly occurring, particularly in the Halifax-Dartmouth area, it is also clear that there is a great deal of inertia built into the province's ethnic pattern. The "charter groups", originally so segregated in their pockets of settlement, have only gradually infiltrated each other's territory. The rate of such infiltration and homogenization has been related to economic opportunities, so that the poorest, most rural, and most remote areas have best maintained their individuality. The urban immigrants of this century, too, have been slow to move from their urban enclaves.

In conclusion, Nova Scotia is not unlike Canada as a whole in its ethnic make-up. With its British stock derived from Loyalists, Scots and Irish, its sizeable French language minority, its Native, Black and German charter groups, and a compendium of older and newer immigrants, it models in miniature the diversity of all Canada. Indeed, few areas of the country of equivalent size and population are more varied in terms of ethnic history or current ethnic pattern.

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